

Monthly Review of East European Affairs

THE APRIL EDITION

LETTER TO YOU IN AMERICA
"NIGHT IN ODESSA"

LETTERS FROM
THE SOVIET UNION
"THE SOVIET UNION
IS AN ARMY"

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EAST EUROPE

Formerly NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

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THE MONTH IN REVIEW

IN THE OPEN

THE RECENT LEAK of information on the proceedings at last December's Moscow conference has confirmed, as perhaps it was intended to do, the clutch of rumors about bitter Soviet-Chinese arguments at the meeting. The Chinese openly accused Mr. Khrushchev of "revisionism," of un-Marxist softness; the Chinese chilled the blood of the other delegates by their bland equanimity at the prospect of millions of deaths in nuclear warfare; Khrushchev lambasted the Chinese with the full force of his brutal tongue and earthy peasant vocabulary; these were the reality behind the meeting's protestations of "Socialist-camp" unity. And, quite apparently, the meeting resolved no differences, the flare of passions produced no catharsis. This is also the main lesson of the recent Albanian Party Congress.

ALBANIA

ONE SHOULD, doubtless, be accustomed by now to the fact that Albania has become the major, indeed, the exclusive European focal point for the ideological divergences in world Communism. Still, it is difficult. This tiny, backward corner of Europe, with a total population of, perhaps, a million and a half (nobody knows for sure), physically isolated from the rest of the Soviet bloc by countries it considers deadly enemies—this has become the podium on which, half-audibly but indisputably, the Communist colossi wrangle over the life or death of the world.

The Albanian Party delegation to Moscow, it is known, was the most vociferous supporter of the Chinese in their arguments against "appeasement of imperialism"—i.e., meaningful negotiation with the non-Communist world—and for the possibilities of a nuclear war which would "destroy capitalism" but permit "Socialism" to rise from the ashes. Both Chinese and Albanians signed, however grudgingly, the Moscow conference's declaration repudiating their stand. When the Albanian Party Congress began—the first major Party occasion anywhere after the Moscow meeting—it was expected that this might adduce evidence as to whether the Soviet-Chinese rift had been mended or not. Evidence there was, indeed.

THE CONGRESS

FROM THE VERY first, beginning with the greetings sent to the Congress by the Soviet and Chinese Parties, an enormous divergence in tone and substance was apparent. The Soviet greeting was friendly enough, but pointedly brief. It wished the Albanian Party and people well. It spoke of strengthening the unity of the Communist movement. It referred to the Moscow conference as "a very great ideological and political victory." And that was that. The bugbear of Yugoslavia was not attacked. The head of the Albanian Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was not mentioned (even without the fraternal "Comrade," as has recently become the fashion in Moscow).

The Chinese greeting might as well have been written by Hoxha himself. It was long and effusive, and said everything the Soviets did not. Hoxha himself was described as at the forefront of his Party in "holding high the revolutionary banner



of Marxism-Leninism." Particular praise was given to the Albanians' fight against "modern revisionism, represented by the Yugoslav Tito clique."

HOXHA'S SPEECH

IN HIS KEYNOTE speech to the Congress, Hoxha took up and embroidered all the themes carried in the Chinese message. Very carefully and explicitly he stressed that the Albanian Party "has always had a correct grasp" on international problems; paying quick lip-service to Khrushchev's doctrine that global war can be prevented, he hurried on—in exactly the Chinese manner—to stress the all-but-insurmountable danger of war presented by the very existence of the "imperialists." "The imperialists do not want peace," he declared. He spoke the necessary shibboleths of love and gratitude for the Soviet Union and its Party, praised the Chinese, and delivered a long vituperation against the Yugoslavs. The high point of his speech was the revelation of a plot by Yugoslavia, Greece, NATO and the U.S. Third Fleet, in conjunction with "some Albanian traitors," to overthrow the Albanian People's Republic. In every possible emphasis and shading, from their denunciation of the United States (at a time when Moscow and the rest of the European bloc are soft-pedalling such attacks) to insistence that nobody but Yugoslav "revisionists" could consider the Albanians to be "dogmatists" (which is exactly what East Germany's Walter Ulbricht had recently and openly said they were), Hoxha and the other Albanian speakers did their best to underline their ideological differences with Moscow and their allegiance to the Chinese position.

REACTION

MOSCOW, IMMEDIATELY, said nothing. But in publishing Hoxha's speech in *Pravda* it performed a classic job of censorship. Everything Hoxha had said on Albania's fidelity to Marxism-Leninism was omitted. Most of Hoxha's attacks on American imperialism and the decadence of the capitalist system were omitted. Personal attacks on President Kennedy, description of the Yugoslav-NATO plot against Albania, insistence on the purity of Albanian Communism—all were omitted. It was a beautiful job in a field where the Soviets themselves have set very high standards.

Two other speeches at the Congress are worthy of some note. The Chinese delegate, Li Hsien-Nien, thoroughly and unreservedly supported the Albanians (as, to a lesser degree, did some of the Asian delegates). The Polish delegate (as did every other European bloc speaker) just as thoroughly espoused Moscow's position and warned of the dangers of Stalinism and dogmatism; short of an open avowal of difference he could hardly have been more direct.

In asking why Albania—poor, isolated, surrounded—has chosen to ally itself with China against the Soviet Union, the answer supplies itself. Precisely because of these circumstances the Albanian leaders have little to lose from international turmoil and conflict. The Albanians, like the Chinese, have no comfort-loving middle class to moderate their zeal. Further, only by conjuring up a dangerous garrison world can they hope to justify a tyranny which has not materially softened since Stalin. And looming very large is the specter of Yugoslavia, toward which the Albanian leaders feel as to a hated and feared step-father. The Soviet Union under Khrushchev has refused to share in the Albanian paranoia toward Yugoslavia, but the Chinese, in their self-written role as the fundamentalist guardians of pure Marxism-Leninism, are perfectly willing to do so.

NOT-SO-PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

IN ALL THIS, it should not be assumed that a world given over to Premier Khrushchev's doctrines of peaceful coexistence would necessarily be a world bathed in sweet peace. In a speech to top-level Party theorists in Moscow on January 6, Khrushchev made it very plain that although he rules out "world wars and local wars," there would still be such things as "national liberation wars," and these the Soviet Union would support.

The Spy Catchers

Propaganda against Western espionage in Eastern Europe varies according to the temperature of the cold war.



SINCE ESPIONAGE is a fact of life, it is virtually impossible to make quantitative judgments. Governments (with the conspicuous exception of the United States after the downing of the American U-2 reconnaissance plane last year) do not admit the truth of the charge of spying. Spies, in turn, do not expect their governments to intervene in their behalf, and confessions are rare since admission of guilt implies betrayal, making it difficult for the spy to return to his native land after his prison sentence is fulfilled. This article cannot therefore concern itself with evaluating the truth of Communist accusations. What is demonstrable is the manipulation of "spy stories" and "spy trials" for propaganda purposes and as strategic weapons in furthering the aims of Soviet bloc foreign policy.

The incidence of publicized spy-catching in the Soviet bloc depends almost wholly on the climate of the cold war. In a period of thaw, few spy trials are announced; but when icy winds blow from Washington or Moscow, spy campaigns are unleashed, and the local citizenry is urged to look under the bed and report any "enemies of the Socialist State" discovered there. For this reason, during the waning days of the Eisenhower administration a large number of Western "spies" were exposed; similarly, the first weeks of the Kennedy administration experienced a drop in purported espionage agents apprehended.

Since the Hungarian Revolt and Polish "Revolution" in the fall of 1956, the climate of Soviet-American relations has passed through the following major temperature changes: cool—in the months following the 1956 upheavals; warmer—as Khrushchev prepared to visit the USA in 1959; very warm—in the afterglow of "the spirit of Camp David" that fall; a sudden chill—after the downing of the U-2 in May 1960, followed by the collapse of the Paris summit conference; rising—as the Soviet leader angles for a meeting with President Kennedy.

After the Revolt

In the wake of the 1956 Revolt in Hungary, the Kadar regime strove to prove that the uprising was "a counter-revolution originated, planned and executed by the West,

the preparation of which was carried out by a well-organized spy ring and subversive agents." International "imperialism" was charged with trying to undermine the "achievements of the Hungarian People's Republic, with organizing counterrevolutionary armed forces and training them in West Germany." Finally, these alleged spies were sent across the border to foment revolt: "They sent their pioneers months ahead of the October event, with ever increasing numbers, in order to destroy our people's democratic system."¹ Party chief Kadar explained that the "imperialist-planned counterrevolution" involved the participation of honest people only because of Western deceptions. "The comrades say that October 23 [1956] did not happen accidentally, and they are quite right," Kadar said in February 1957. "The Hungarian counterrevolution and international imperialism have been preparing for October 23 for the past 12 years."² During the brief period of the Revolt when the Austrian border was open, *agents provocateurs* reputedly crossed into Hungary "masked as Red Cross workers" sent by the Americans, but were, in fact, "spies, fascists, Arrow Cross party members, gendarmes" who directed the "counterrevolutionary activities." A Hungarian newspaper correspondent in Washington reported that the American Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for organizing revolts in the satellite countries.³

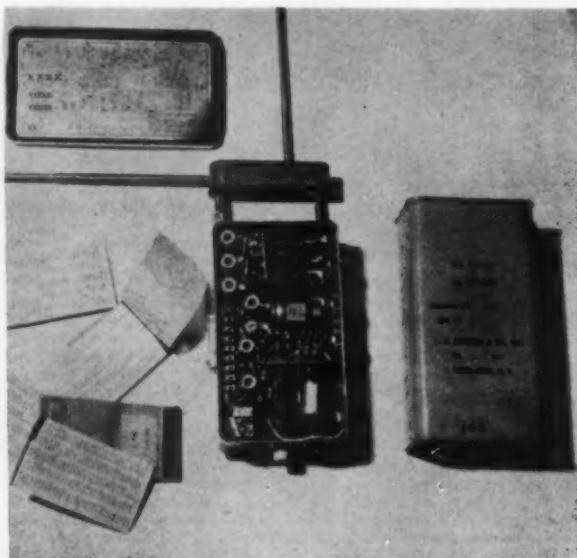
Spy trials of those who were apprehended for their alleged part in the 1956 upheaval began the following year. Not only did the publicity resulting from these trials serve to reinforce the myth that the "counterrevolution" was inspired by Western agents, but also helped the regime explain away the unrest which continued in the aftermath of the Kadar repression. Thus, on January 27, the Party organ reported the arrest of four British spies led by Mr. J. R. Cooper, possessing false documents apparently issued by the Soviet Military Command and dated November 12, 1956: "Investigation proved that J. R. Cooper was a member of the British Intelligence. . . . It has also proved that the said persons have brought messages from dissident students of the so-called 'Revolutionary Students' Committee' [refugee Hungarian student organization] to the members of the Student Committee in Budapest. They were assigned the task of making contacts, but they also revealed that they wanted to obtain data referring to the Hungarian and Soviet Armies."⁴

Spy stories also proved useful when the United Nations General Assembly took up the question of the Hungarian Revolt in the fall of 1957. A Hungarian emigre, Miklos Szabo, who had been working in Vienna prior to the Revolt and remained in the Austrian capital to work on refugee problems, suddenly popped up at a news conference in Budapest. Previously denounced as a traitor, he was then hailed as a prodigal son as he dutifully testified to the activities of Western and emigre spies in preparing the "counterrevolution." When the Hungarian question was finally dealt with, the spy stories abruptly ceased, not to be resumed until the next fall when the question was again placed on the UN agenda. Again a press conference was staged, this time replete with 6 spies in flesh and blood who recounted the "methods of the US intelligence service, how they were recruited and became US agents."⁵

Czechoslovak Campaign

ALTHOUGH UNTOUCHED by the momentous events of 1956, Czechoslovakia, sandwiched in between Poland and Hungary, also felt the necessity to unleash a spy campaign in the winter of 1956-57. In this tense period, the repressive policies of the Novotny regime were plainly designed to demonstrate the resolution of the Party to quell any hopes for a relaxation of Party control. Not only was there to be no Budapest, but also no "Polish October." Half a dozen spy stories were released to the press in November 1956. By March, two spy rings allegedly operating under the direction of American security organs were apprehended. An official of the Ministry of Transportation described how he had been approached by American secret agents in Austria in April 1955. But after reporting these contacts to the Prague intelligence services, he became a double agent, working with an American spy group operating out of Paris.⁶ The arrest of a "US spy group" later that month included a commentator for the Czechoslovak television network. Finally, to complete the month of spy-catching, on March 23, the Ministry of Interior sponsored an exhibition in Bratislava "with panels, photographic and documentary materials showing the work of the security organs in rendering harmless agents of hostile espionage groups."⁷

Poland, Bulgaria and Romania escaped the rash of spy stories characteristic of this period. The new Gomulka regime offered a breath of freedom after the long years of Stalinist repression, whereas the two Balkan nations were far removed from the Austro-German frontier through which the so-called spy network operated.



Indispensable for espionage. Above, cigarette lighter as camera. Opposite page: short-wave radio transmitter, code book, batteries.

Kvety (Prague), March 12, 1959

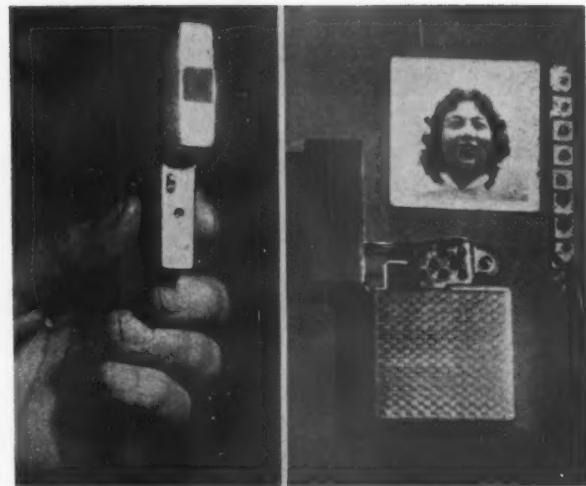
The West German Campaign

DURING THE PAST year the "unmasking of West German spy rings" was common fare for the readers of the Polish and Czechoslovak press.* Accompanied by demands for the conclusion of peace treaties between the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia and the two Germanies, plus a solution to the "Berlin question," vehement criticism of the Bonn government reached new heights in the summer of 1960. At the same time, more and more West German "spies" were arrested, tried and imprisoned. In Czechoslovakia, this campaign was stepped up soon after the failure of the May 1960 summit conference when Premier Viliam Siroky, in submitting the program of the newly-appointed cabinet in the National Assembly on July 12, 1960, referred to the most important task of the security forces as "the struggle against the agencies of the imperialist States, against the spies and diversionists, who are trained and dispatched by them to harm the interests of our people and to try to establish contacts with members of the former exploited classes and other elements. . . . In addition to the Gehlen espionage service which relies on the cadres trained by Hitler, there function in West Germany spy groups of the Western powers. The occupation status of West Berlin still makes possible its existence as a basis of the most variegated centers and organizations aimed against our republic."¹⁰

A wave of espionage cases swept through the daily press that fall. *Svobodne Slovo* (Prague), September 27, announced: "It is known to us that the West German and American espionage services arrange provocations on our borders and send their agents and diversionists to us. Some of these agents have themselves drawn our attention to the tasks which were given to them." A few days later, Vaclav Stanek, "one of the West German agents who operate in Czechoslovakia," was arrested while trying to collect espionage information for the government of the German Federal Republic. He made an "extensive confession, explained the methods and forms of hostile activities which are organized in the territory of the GFR, and named a whole series of persons with whom he was in contact." Stanek reputedly had served in the German Army during World War II, had gone to visit his mother in West Germany and there was lured into the West German espionage service, then smuggled into Czechoslovakia. This arrest was followed by a report of the trial of two other West German agents, Vilem Kahabka and Frantisek Pichl, who were sentenced respectively to 8 and 4 years imprisonment.¹¹

Agents were allegedly recruited in Camp Valka, near Nuremberg, where Czechoslovak refugees were promised

* The recent trips of Berthold Beitz, general manager of the West German Krupp industrial complex, to Warsaw in December 1960 and January 1961, may lead to a relaxation of the attacks by Poland against the Bonn government. (See *East Europe*, January, p. 39.) Earlier that fall, West German Chancellor Adenauer reportedly sent his ambassador to Moscow to request the Soviet Premier to ease his criticism of West German "revanchism" and "militarism." A visit to West Germany by the Soviet leaders to conclude a trade agreement in 1961 was also envisaged. (*Christian Science Monitor* [Boston], October 26-27, 1960.)



fantastic sums of money if they agreed to enter the West German espionage service. Since refugees "cannot obtain a job in Western Germany . . . they are in no hurry to escape from this camp of dirt, hunger and humiliation. The only escape route is espionage." Once the innocent refugee agreed to become a spy, he was transferred to a villa in Nuremberg where he was trained, assigned his first espionage mission and taught how to handle small arms. As a reward for his services he was promised 500 to 1000 West German marks. Instead, on his return, he would receive only 100 marks. On the other hand, if the agent "gets cold feet and is afraid to cross the frontier illegally and refuses to undertake the mission, the officers of the espionage service return him to the Valka camp with a special note addressed to the camp police to deal as they like with this 'coward'."¹²

The Polish Campaign

In post-Stalin Poland, the countless espionage trials which punctuated the first decade after World War II greatly diminished. Especially during the honeymoon of Gomulka's return to power in October 1956, the relatively greater freedom at home was matched by the infrequency of spy cases, as Warsaw initiated a more dynamic foreign policy calling for disengagement in East-Central Europe. The steady whittling away of the gains of the Polish "Revolution," however, saw Warsaw identify itself more rigidly with the foreign policy of the USSR and assume a leading role in the anti-West German offensive; this included the revelation of West German espionage agents and much-publicized spy trials.

As in Czechoslovakia, the spy campaign increased in 1959, reaching its apogee in the latter half of 1960. The diabolical figure of Chancellor Adenauer was accused of setting up a center for espionage agents in West Berlin, from which hub spies were sent out to cross the Polish border



Handy spy equipment for an embassy party: (1) hearing aid magnifies even a whisper; (2) miniature radio station features a teletype-writer, transmitter (5), and antenna (6); (3) and (4) microphones.

Erdekes Ujsag (Budapest), January 11, 1958

along the Oder-Neisse line. Although the agents were "frequently West Germans, the man in charge is sometimes an American intelligence officer."¹¹ Terse reports announcing that security agents had arrested West German spies appeared almost monthly, such as this broadcast over Radio Warsaw, December 20, 1960: "Erwin Kuhnert and his wife Marta were arrested as agents of the West German intelligence service. . . . His task consisted in collecting and transferring to the West German intelligence service news concerning political and economic life and in particular, information concerning the defense capacity of Poland. . . . The investigation continues." Sometimes the trial of the spies is later publicized; more often than not, no further news is forthcoming.

The Public Trial

Although the reports of spies apprehended may be intended to create an atmosphere of suspicion and danger, a public trial would undoubtedly prove more effective. To this purpose the Budapest trial in July 1960 of Karoly Heidt, a West German citizen of Hungarian extraction, was the first publicly held spy trial since the days of the Revolt. The foreign press corps was invited to witness the proceedings, though later a Hungarian commentator com-

plained that these foreign correspondents seemed to be "uninterested" in the case. The trial naturally furnished a good occasion to unleash a propaganda barrage directed against the "US espionage organization in West Germany," and Radio Budapest, July 28, commented on Bonn's "feverish activities" directed against the "Socialist" countries:

"Bonn militarists have been commissioned by their American sponsors to elaborate psychological warfare plans. This work was under the direction of General Gehlen, chief of the West German espionage organization paid by Americans. The Gehlen intelligence service tried to set up a wide organization in the Socialist countries, principally by employing traitors and dissidents from these countries. But Hungarian public opinion was particularly experienced in the subversive activities of the Gehlen people. After the 1956 counterrevolution, many of them have been denounced and apprehended by the Hungarian counterintelligence service. Preparation for an atomic blitzkrieg, espionage, subversive activities, and intrigues, all were included in the political program of the ruling circles in Bonn and their 'Washington bosses.' But the Socialist countries have been watching attentively this criminal activity against peace. The Socialist countries are vigilant and mighty, and they will teach, if it is necessary with an iron hand, those people who are not willing to draw a lesson from history."

The U-2 and After

AS CAN BE SEEN from the cases cited above, West German spies are usually "in the pay of" or "working closely with" US intelligence agents. Until the downing of the American U-2 reconnaissance plane over the USSR just prior to the May 1960 summit conference, however, the preceding year showed a dearth of espionage cases involving the American intelligence system, although West German spies were still periodically arrested. This was the period marked by a detente in Soviet-American relations, after Khrushchev's visit to the USA; the anti-American spy campaign was revived and tied in with the anti-Adenauer offensive soon after the U-2 incident. The Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior, Rudolf Barak, June 6, revealed that "an American spy," Dean Rugg of the US Embassy in Bonn, had visited Czechoslovakia in July 1959: "This artful diplomat, who has received a professional cartographic education, spent three weeks in our country and tried to obtain every possible city plan and map of districts and regions. Only naive people could believe that he did that for peaceful or even scientific purposes. The so-called American scientific attachés are directed by the Central Intelligence Agency—the CIA—directly."

As well as releasing stories to the press about "artful" spies, exhibitions of spy-catching apparatus were also employed in the summer of 1960 in order to dramatize effectively the abrupt worsening of Soviet-American relations. In Hungary a number of these exhibitions were arranged in the capital and in many provincial cities. Here, the accoutrements of the secret agent, and blown-up photographs of a spy "in a dark suit . . . with his occupation clearly labeled: imperialist agent" were displayed. In one

(Continued on page 26)

Eastern Europe at the UN

This department is devoted to a running chronology of the more significant activities and statements of the Soviet bloc representatives at the United Nations.

January 18 Poland and the Soviet Union demanded that a UN Subcommission looking into discrimination in political rights draw up a new definition of "democracy." Wojciech Ketrzynski of Poland told the 14-man group that "political" democracy was not synonymous with "classical" democracy. He stated that governments "must have respect for the popular will of their people" and are therefore "justified" in denying certain political rights to certain groups. The Polish representative criticized a draft study on political discrimination as prepared by Special Rapporteur Hernan Santa Cruz of the Philippines which said that there was "no justification" for one group to take political rights away from another group in a nation.

Ketrzynski contended that neither the UN Charter nor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights gives a formula for "democracy." He said that the universally recognized signs of a democratic way of life are a citizen's right to be elected to public office, and free elections—conditions that exist in Poland, he stated. He invoked the political rise of Hitler as an example of the need to check and frustrate political movements opposed to the interests of the people, and said that governments must exercise the same caution against "subversive" minorities today. He stated that Poland had three political parties, and that 63 deputies in the Sejm represented no political party at all. He claimed that in Poland there were more competing candidates for public office than in the United States, where voters are confronted with almost "no difference" between the Republican and Democratic parties.

The Soviet delegate demanded that the Subcommission delete two paragraphs referring to Hungary in the question of "international measures aimed at combating discrimination in the matter of political rights." One of these paragraphs mentioned the fact that the General Assembly established in 1957 a Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary, and listed subsequent Assembly resolutions on "the continuing repression in Hungary of fundamental rights of the Hungarian people and of their freedom of political expression. . . ." The other paragraph referred to the fact that the Hungarian authorities in Budapest refused to extend assistance and facilities for the Committee's work, and barred its members from Hungary.

January 19 The question was raised in the UN Subcommission on discrimination in political rights whether nations in Eastern Europe merit as much consideration in this respect as nations now under colonial administration in Africa. Great Britain said they did, while Poland and the Soviet Union maintained that the case of the East-

ern European countries was "entirely irrelevant as they enjoy full political rights." Wojciech Ketrzynski of Poland asked the British representative if in the course of his trips to Poland he had received the impression that it was a "non-self-governing country," adding that if the British interpretation of the principle of self-determination were valid, it could also be applied to the Tyrol, Northern Ireland, Scotland and other areas.

John M. Raymond of the United States criticized the majority of the Communist-dominated governments for not responding to the Special Rapporteur's request for information. He wondered if the Subcommission's study was "worthwhile" if "great areas stretching from Eastern Europe to the Pacific Ocean and containing over 200 million people are not included." The British representative said that the terms of reference of the Special Rapporteur did not include the principle of self-determination, but that the cases of Tibet, the Baltic States "and the countries of Eastern Europe" would have to be considered if the Soviet Union insisted on the inclusion of "colonialism" in the question. He observed that the USSR's interest "seems to be confined almost exclusively to Africa."

January 23 The question of Hungary was raised again when the representative of the Soviet Union told the Special Rapporteur of the UN Subcommission on Human Rights that he had erred when he included UN resolutions on Hungary as an example of international pressure on governments guilty of political discrimination. He said that the Hungarian question had been inserted in the study "in the interest of the cold war."

The Rapporteur replied that he "could not ignore the case of Hungary since the UN General Assembly had passed a resolution on the subject." US representative John M. Raymond defended the draft report by reading the pertinent part of the UN resolution on Hungary mentioned in the report, saying that there was "continuing repression in Hungary of the fundamental rights and the freedom of political expression." Both the Polish and the Soviet representatives argued that the Special Rapporteur should not emphasize political rights in his report. While protesting against the inclusion of Hungary as one such example, the two Soviet bloc representatives did not object to the inclusion of a series of UN resolutions on the racial situation in the Union of South Africa.

January 25 Poland charged that last year's anti-semitic demonstrations in West Germany were "organized" and were the result of dormant Nazi feelings among the popu-
(Continued on page 29)

Alice in Cloudland



by

Leszek Prorok

FOllowing are some notes on teacher Plotnik's recent Calvary; but first, her portrait: a character—enough to amuse two-thirds of any gathering, the way odd people can often be amusing. Odd, though not necessarily old-fashioned. Miss Plotnik teaches history, so when it comes to the logic of events, to the genesis of the major developments which shape our everyday existence, she is extremely well informed. She questions her students on these subjects almost up to the time of graduation; in this she can outdo any of the younger teachers—these pompous asses, so sensitive to finding sufficient respect in their students' greetings.

Alice Plotnik is odd, because she walks and moves differently than anyone else; her movements are reserved and always functional. She doesn't permit herself any superfluous gestures. She speaks in clear, well-rounded sentences which merit comparison with the prose in books, before books became flooded with torrents of vulgarity. In addition, she believes that her students always tell her the truth, and that the insolent girls and the noisy boys are much more virtuous and profound than they are generally thought to be by the rest of the faculty. She is, therefore, odd, although one has the suspicion that she was just as fashionless twenty years ago, or even before, hence "old-fashioned" doesn't quite fit.

Also in her garb and general appearance. In fact, the somewhat formal word "garb" seems particularly apt when applied to Miss Plotnik. Not dress, definitely not toilette or style, but garb. As to her portrait in the literal sense of the word, Miss Alice is a faded woman of middle height and middle age. This face has been untouched by rouge or powder; the mousy hair knows no curl; her fingernails are short and straight. She wears good quality, perhaps even expensive materials, but the simple cut of her dress smacks of a gray girl-scout uniform. Miss Plotnik is completely devoid of feminine appeal, of all the provoking charms

that are difficult to pin down, but that nevertheless have a way of manifesting themselves clearly and unmistakably. All in all, one will first notice the human being, and only later, after some time, the sex, not the other way around.

This quality becomes clearly evident in classroom relations. With Miss Plotnik, nobody tries to tell off-color jokes which only outwardly shock her younger colleagues, but in reality are quite necessary to them for a natural release of tension. Obviously, such a release can be most helpful to someone who during 45 minutes of each hour must be a monument of moral virtue, for the good and edification of the growing generation.

This doesn't mean, however, that Miss Plotnik is shunned or laughed at. She's as indispensable and as natural a component of the school as the air, invisible and taken for granted; one is disturbed and frightened only by its sudden absence.

Although nobody consciously plays jokes on Miss Plotnik, it seems like a nasty joke to have burdened her with this particular mission, which was, with difficulty—like anything unpleasant—slowly, hesitantly defined by Principal Dukalski. Miss Plotnik has thin skin and feels the awkwardness of the situation.

"I don't know whether I can manage it. I've never handled anything like that," she explains quietly, looking directly at him. "Surely a man would be better suited for the job, sir. Mind you, not one of the younger men. Maybe Kopacki?"

This embarrassing situation irritates the principal and brings a note of impatience to his voice.

"Yes, yes, of course; theoretically you are right, but what can I do? Well, it's important to me that you go, Miss Alice."

"But I'll be looking for a needle in a haystack. Actually, we know next to nothing."

Letter to Young Writers

In its January 1, 1961 issue, the Polish literary weekly *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw) published the winners in a short story contest it had held for young writers. These were prefaced with an analysis and discussion of the stories turned up by the contest.

This discussion, representing as it does the official view of current Polish writing—which is less fettered than in any other bloc country, if decreasingly so—is extremely interesting. Its tone, for one thing, is of extreme petulance; despite the relative freedom writers have enjoyed since 1956, despite the general decrease in repression in Polish life, writers still refuse to be guided into approved channels of style or subject matter, refuse to be optimistic, refuse to be “rational,” refuse to be wholesome. They lapse into nostalgia for times past or into solipsistic concern for their

own development, psychological and physiological. They are prey to bad influences from Western Europe and America.

The force and sweep of this criticism of Polish writers may well indicate that the regime is considering further steps to attempt to obtain from them the proper view of “our contemporary reality.”

Following (with minor excisions) is this discussion. Beginning on the adjacent page is one of the prize-winning stories.

OUR CONTEST, my friends, has been a failure. Yes, we might as well admit it frankly. It's a disappointment; to us, the editors and organizers of this tremendous enterprise (400 stories were submitted!)—and certainly to you, the awarded as well as the unmentioned authors.

But I think that your failure is particularly painful to us.

(Continued on next page)

“Certainly, yes. But maybe something will turn up on the spot.” The principal’s tone is perfectly obvious to both of them. He does not believe in the success of this mission. It’s as if he were sending Miss Alice to an already lost section of the battlefield. She must try to save the honor of the army, or perhaps even less—only the appearances. After all, could he simply say that he won’t blame her if she turns back in the middle of the battle? It was the girl’s mother who had thrown him into this state of irritability which wouldn’t let up.

Sophie Lagoda’s mother had arrived the day after the telegram was sent. A timid little woman, transplanted from the extreme eastern part of the country to the western border, she carried with her an atmosphere of utter resignation toward any possible suffering that fate could bring. When she learned what was behind the telegram, her tired eyes filled with tears; it became clear that counting on her help would be useless. She searched the faces around her, repeating the same tearful refrain: “What’s going to happen? What’s going to happen?” It was full of despair and fright, not an ounce of responsibility.

Finally the principal lost his temper and spoke up sharply. “Nothing’s going to happen! You understand that the girl must leave this school. You’ll take her home.”

Mrs. Lagoda lifted her arms with a theatrical gesture. “God Almighty, her father will kill her, he’ll never let her get away with it, that’s the way he is.”

The principal reconsidered; after all, it did happen on school premises, during the school year. The mother could hold this against them, although nothing of the sort seemed to have occurred to her. Anyway, as long as the girl was gone, any further conversation on the subject would be strictly theoretical and pointless. All they knew was that Sophie was neither at home nor at her cousin’s house. It was improbable that she would head for the Bug River where she had lived as a small child. The best clue,

therefore, seemed to be the postcard received by her girl friend.

“But why to Walbrzych? What for? What can she be doing there?” wailed Mrs. Lagoda, her desperate eyes moving from one face to another. By now everyone felt oppressed by this motherly helplessness, and annoyed to see her calm down as soon as the principal stated with a deep sigh that the school would try to do everything it could. “Here we are,” remarked the mathematics teacher Kopacki, “a difficult younger generation, an overworked faculty, and parents who don’t live up to their responsibilities. Can we be surprised by the results?”

Mrs. Lagoda passively accepted the suggestion to return home and await further news. After she had gone, many bitter words were heaped on the poor little woman’s head; the principal scanned the faces around him and his gaze finally rested on the small, dry face of Miss Plotnik. “So you will go? Please, will you?”

The principal’s plea did more than any formal command could ever do: it touched Miss Plotnik’s heart.

* * *

Wearily, she leans her breast against the tall counter and waits patiently, thinking, without bitterness, about her colleagues who must now be returning home, unburdened by the consequences of Sophie Lagoda’s actions. A sour, nauseating smell fills the restaurant. The barmaid serves vodka and beer to everyone else, as if deliberately ignoring Miss Alice. The teacher feels her eyes watering. Smoke has always bothered her, even at school conferences, although that was really nothing in comparison with the thick blue haze that now dims the room and smells as stale as if it were days old. The men gathered around the counter all smoke furiously.

“Miss, just one tea with lemon for me, nothing more,

We waited so anxiously and so hopefully for a new Literary Genius to emerge out of our contest; for a story that would be *truly contemporary*, a story that would tell about our lives and our mutual problems in a different, fearless, and original way. We have been anxious to give you this opportunity—to open to you the pages of our magazine and provide a group of experienced jurors and editors to examine your works, some of which you may have just finished writing and some that perhaps have been put away in your drawers to await the right moment for publication.

We expected that, having an *open* contest, we would receive primarily the manuscripts of young authors making their first debut, or writers who until now have been prevented by internal or "external" blocks from realizing their literary ambitions. In this respect our expectations proved to be correct. Manuscripts read by our jurors showed (most of the stories were about young people) the age, experience, and ability of each author in a way that eliminated any chance of error.

would you be so kind, please."

There's a burst of guffaws at the bar. The busty barmaid eats up the men's wise-cracks with great relish. She is accompanied by a poster-bright girl, glued to the counter in front of the men.

"So, how about it Veronka?" insists a pock-marked giant with lisping merriment. The hairy expanse of chest showing above his open shirt reveals the beginnings of a tattoo, a saccharine-sweet little face of a film star à la Betty Boop. What could there be further down—a bluish drawing, shimmery to the rhythm of his raucous laugh? Miss Plotnik shudders, and chases away these speculations. She would have gone to her room long ago if she weren't so thirsty. She can't forgive herself for not having stopped at the milk bar on her way back from the police station.

"How about what, Mr. Mike?" Veronka squashes her breasts against the metal edge of the counter. The teacher marvels at the absence of embarrassment in the girl's tone; her words ring with arrogance and daring.

"Mike has a cold," the giant's companion bares his teeth in a broad grin. "He needs something for his cold."

"Miss, just tea with lemon." Miss Plotnik overcomes her shyness, but her hands tremble and she feels desperate, for it seems that the noise in the restaurant has once again drowned out her words.

"Get your tea at a table from a waiter," casually throws out Veronka. She is chained to the spot by Mike's suggestive stare which she boldly returns. Small dimples form in her full cheeks: we'll see who gives up first!

"Mike, put up a round," urges the toothy one.

"Why, did it fall down?"

"Th-th-three more glasses, Veronka," stutters the third companion. "And you have one, too, Veronka. Come on, be a doll. Cheers! D'you know what's the best thing for a cold?"

Of course, the majority of the submitted works came to us by mistake, at it were: the authors paid no attention to contest rules (some stories were over 40 pages long), or to the one primary requirement—that the subject matter must involve *contemporary life in Poland during the last 15 years*.

Most of the manuscripts, however (often sent to us with the author's touching faith in the magic of his own literary genius), were either about matters which today are almost a part of history (e.g., the diary of a schoolteacher before 1914), or about "life" understood in a rather peculiar way. "Life" to our modern writer is primarily erotic experience, in all its endless variations—down to the diary of a masturbator. Erotic experience as an excuse for indulging in involved psychological dissertations of rather obvious origins: the author's familiarity with the French literary technique of the anti-novel at best, or with the prose of Hasko or Odojewski—at worst.

So there were some stories where the grandiose artistic

"Here you are. But that's the last round. It's all you get. So what's the best thing for a cold?"

"Hehehe! A compress made of female flesh. Ever heard of such a cure, Mike?"

The men and the gaudy girl roar with laughter and Veronka pretends to be angry, although the corners of her lips are twitching.

"But what can I get at the counter?" Miss Plotnik tries to make herself heard above the din. She quickly scans the restaurant—there are no empty tables. She always finds it embarrassing to join strangers at a table. If it's absolutely necessary, I will sit next to that old gentleman with the cigar, she figures to herself, but out loud she declares, "Very well then, I'll have a lemon pop. I'll stay here." Noting contempt in the plump barmaid's narrow gaze she looks behind her, only to find that the scorn could have been intended only for her.

"That's pretty good, hehehe! A compress made of female flesh. It must feel real nice, eh, boys?"

"Doctors ought to prescribe it more often."

"Yes, one doctor always used to tell me to go to bed with an aspirin, a warm blanket and a pretty girl."

Miss Plotnik's face reddens and she chokes audibly. Too much gas in this pop! Clearly, the jokes are intended for her. Everyone stares so strangely, even sweet Betty Boop on the hairy chest. The important thing is—not to give in to the mockers. I am experiencing a heroic moment; Miss Plotnik fortifies herself with the gravity of the situation which only outwardly appears to be trivial. Everyone has heroic moments during his lifetime, but most often fails to notice them.

She must finish her drink and leave. Again they are saying something, accenting the words that provoke knowing smirks. Miss Plotnik doesn't understand them, but she knows what they imply, and so she blushes in advance.

scope greatly surpassed the meager intellectual thread of the plot. And we were flooded with literary tomes full of descriptions of erotic scenes—descriptions clearly composed *pro arte*—which occasionally would stir in us an interest in the author's talent and a regret that this talent is being wasted on such a lengthy, obsessive, detailed and boring analysis of some juvenile nincompoop's physiological processes.

Often one could also detect in this prose certain distant echoes of the period between the two world wars. . . . The range of its moral-philosophic problems generally boiled down to the Gide-like postulate of absolute frankness, emotional freedom and the liberation of repressed sexual desires and unconscious complexes, while the picture of life in Poland was limited to descriptions of apartments.

The majority of plots and subjects, suspended in an historical and social vacuum, muddled and unrealistic, seem to point to a total ignorance of "life" in the ordinary sense of the word, an inability to come up with any comment as

to the environment, the era, or the background in which a given story develops.

Such absolute "outsidism" is clearly not the result of an intentional literary convention of style. "Creationism," or pseudocreationalism, of the young writers obviously stems from their inability to think things through for themselves, from their lack of a definite stand when it comes to our important present-day problems: political, social, philosophical.

Besides, this pseudo-creationalism is nothing but an easy, seemingly profound, but generally rather obvious imitation of the 20th century "classics" of style, occasionally successful in camouflaging the author's confusion. Such an unimaginative approach to their literary models doesn't even prove the literary culture or craftsmanship of our young writers. Generally it is simply a second or third-hand imitation. Let's not be annoyed by the epigones of Kafka, Camus or Faulkner. Let's not even be annoyed by the

(Continued on next page)

They must mean something indecent, and undoubtedly are quite familiar to any student in her class. Today's younger generation has such a terrible vocabulary. Now she can escape from here.

"Miss, miss, I would like to pay." She looks at Veronka pleadingly but the latter is in no hurry to leave her gay company. My God, she's such a young girl, only two or three years older than the senior students.

"Miss, have you seen a young girl around here yesterday or the day before? Please listen to me for a minute,

this is very important. A shy young girl, about my height, with very light blonde hair and gray eyes. I'm not sure what she was wearing, but probably a navy-blue blouse. Please try to remember, please? What do I owe you for the lemonade?"

The hotel lobby and stairway glitter with smooth, plush cleanliness, decorated with an imitation marble design. In a corner recess, a bronze couple, entwined in an amorous embrace, support a pink-shaded lamp; probably Eros and Psyche. So here again eyes and arms are locked together, only this time made of bronze, and there is peace, and calm, and dry dust settling noiselessly, and the voices in the restaurant, cleansed by the thickness of the walls, sound less threatening and less sensuous. The unshaven hotel clerk has fallen asleep at his desk, behind him are mail slots and rows of keys. Awakened from his nap, his expression is so unfriendly that a less determined person would surely give up.

"But I've already told you; she has been here, she spent the night. Here, you can see in this book, Sophie Lagoda, day before yesterday. For two nights she was here."

"I'm sorry, I thought you might have remembered something more. Something that could give me a clue? I must find her. Anything might be important."

"What clue?" grumbles the unshaven functionary. "She didn't speak to anyone, maybe she was scared. She took a room and went to bed."

"And later?"

"I don't know about later. Someone else is on duty during the day. I only know that we couldn't keep her here more than two nights. She had no papers. She registered on her school card. With just a school card you can't stay any longer than that."

Miss Plotnik is lost in thought, tapping her keys against the glass desk top.



epigones of the "anti-novel." Our young contestants' most common technique or style is still the naturalistic style; the easiest to detect in the analysis of philosophic principles—the fundamental, biological approach to life.

Of the 400 stories, about 30 attempted to stay within the range of contemporary social problems; contemporary, i.e., mostly concerned with the German occupation and the years right after the war. I must admit that I found these more irritating than all the others. Written in a naively-realistic tone borrowed from the early positivists, they labored—in 1960—to rediscover the obvious truths which are no longer questioned by anybody. What a stir, what an intellectual sensation would have been created in the years 1947-49 by a book revealing "from the inside," from the ranks of the young intelligentsia actively engaged in conspiracy movements, the nonsense and the lie of the political underground. A young writer who at that time reached such conclusions "on his own" was truly representing a kind of honesty of his generation. Andrzejewski in "Ashes

and Diamonds" succeeded in showing us this generation most convincingly.

A young writer who in 1960 insists on proving that the NSZ conspiracy* was sheer madness must do it in a new, fresh, artistically convincing way. Otherwise he is doomed to be deadly dull and obvious. His work will attract very little interest in a world where an alert, creative artist should always be finding new themes in the constantly changing social scene, the dissolution of traditional social ties, the consequences of industrialization in the countryside and the changing patterns of life in the cities.

Unfortunately, even the better authors who received our awards have not succeeded in presenting these social transformations in a dynamic fashion. The topics of their literary interpretations are passé, preoccupied with the "mouldy world" of days gone by. The most artistically mature story, "Murder" by Andrzej Szypulski, is nothing but

* Extreme rightist underground organization, not a part of the Home Army.

"What could she be doing right now?" Realizing that she will not get an answer from the sleepy clerk, she slowly begins to climb the stairs. She passes Eros and Psyche suffused in a pink glow; on the next landing there's a repetition of the same scene. By a door, a young man leans over a woman, whispering something into her ear. She can hear the woman's husky laugh. The man puts his arm around his partner and pulls her to him. His veiled eyes rest for a moment with an unfriendly look on the teacher who tiptoes by, frightened and filled with the realization that her presence—even her very existence—is an intrusion, or at least a tactless error. At the sound of footsteps, the woman tries to brush the man's hand from her hip, but she doesn't do it decisively or effectively. Just a plain maneuver, one more pebble in the garden of pretenses of which our everyday lives are made up. What is vital between them will burst forth only after Miss Plotnik disappears into her room. The teacher is bathed in a hot sweat. At last she can be alone with herself. Blessed be the moment when she decided to take a room with two beds, at the school's expense. She is alone.

Outside her window is the large industrial city which she must penetrate and conquer. In the distance, a red neon sign of a movie theater pulses with congealed light, throwing a blood-red sheen on the damp roof, a milky haze creeps over houses, nearer, there are dark facades checkered by lighted windows, and the ancient rattling of trolley-cars in the dark canyon of the street. Wind stirs the branches of trees in the gas light of street lamps. At last Miss Plotnik finds relief from the day's nervous tension, the vulgarity and insults, people's indifference to Sophie Lagoda's fate. She would have liked to throw herself on the bed right away, but the habit of many years does not permit rest before completing the evening toilette. She sighs deeply, draws the curtains and turns on the faucets. There is only cold water.

At night Alice Plotnik dreams about bodies, many bodies huddling together, submerged in swooning music, like the playing of a flute on a hot summer's day. She had often heard *L'Apres-midi d'un Faun*, and again this suggests to her a gigantic, all-enveloping embrace. Her dream mellows everything: a noisy giggle becomes transformed into a smile as delicate as butterflies' wings, a brutal gesture into a caress, and the fierceness of an aggressive stare, into a subtle kiss of the eyes. Tree branches entwine in the wind like arms. They are the color of a white body, not of the dark, rough bark. Eros and Psyche have descended from their lamp; they are kissing in front of the teacher's door. The darkness on the stairway is filled with Veronka's erotic squeals, and the flickering neon lights up the quivering, obscene dance of little Betty Boop. Miss Plotnik wants to shout: go away! but she doesn't dare, and has no strength left. In another minute she will jump out of bed, run to precious Betty, and join her in this never-ending mad dance. She is overcome by a desire for nonsense, the ecstasy of rapturous nonsense.

* * *

Morning unveiled the dusty face of factories and houses. The odor of acrid mists, penetrating everything in this city, also seeped into the milk-bar, changing the taste of milk. After breakfast, Miss Alice started out along the main street toward police headquarters, observing the passers by with interest: shabby outfits, short gray jackets, or jackets black as tar, suits covered with dust. Men and women walked briskly, smiled, joked with one another, as if they had suddenly shed the evening's apathy. They were nice. If only it were possible to discover whether any of them had run across Sophie. The girl must be wandering about these very streets, frightened, alone, gathered within herself like a hunted animal.

In the office of the police headquarters a radio was playing sweet music whose beauty could only be fully

a Kafka-like metaphor of forces that destroy the spiritual freedom of the individual and stimulate the human masses into fanatic reactions of fear, alienation, hate. His work has an unmistakably anti-clerical bite. But, after a solidly realistic start, set in solidly realistic contemporary surroundings, it gradually dissolves into a dreary nightmare. . . .

The story "A Bright Visit by the River" by Edward Stachura is a bit wordy; it takes up once more the old problem of alienation and the individual's unsuccessful attempts to integrate himself into the social fabric. The author's talent is beyond doubt, and so is his literary culture. Equally beyond doubt, however, is his lack of intellectual discipline and his pastoral naïveté à la Rousseau, expressed in the conception of the "noble savage" and of a solitary happiness in the bosom of nature.

The stories by Szypulski and Stachura—both young men in their twenties—distinguish themselves by their philosophical ambitions. They deserve attention because of their "own" range of intellectual problems, their ability to define

them, and their courage in formulating generalizations. . . .

I recently read a book by Professor Swida from Wrocław about the influence of the social system on crime. The author analyses the statistical data concerning the number of abandoned children in the neighborhood of Kalisz and shows that during the last fifteen years this number was remarkably smaller than before the war. The story "The Cross" suggests the opposite. "The Cross" could have been a timely reply to the philosophy of the village depicted by Reymont.* Instead, it is like a page torn from a book of the past era.

Thus, dear authors, I repeat once more that we met with a failure. It's our common failure: ours—your readers and critics, and yours—the writers who were expected to measure up to the difficult problems of the new Polish reality. But, "as long as there's life, there's hope"—we are still waiting for a good contemporary book.

*Turn-of-the-century author of "The Peasants."

felt among grasses, reeds, or trees, but there the notes reverberated against dusty window panes and the large city-map stuck with hundreds of thick, multi-colored pins.

"Any news? Have you learned something?" she asked from the doorway.

"Nothing as yet, but that doesn't mean anything. We only started looking yesterday."

"I'm afraid." She leaned against a wooden railing.

"Why don't you just stay in your hotel, miss, get some rest, do some reading," suggested the lieutenant helpfully. He gave her a friendly glance.

The stale dust tickled her nose; Miss Alice was embarrassed to sneeze, as if this might be an insult to the policeman's friendly attitude. At this moment her nose was demanding too much for itself.

"Or maybe you could take a little trip," continued the policeman kindly. "By trolley to Szczawno. We have a beautiful park in Szczawno. A whole forest of yew trees. Where can you find yew trees nowadays? Nowhere. On the way, you can see the Chelmiec Mountain, and staying around here won't accomplish anything anyway. The girl's not a pin, if she exists—she'll turn up."

"If she exists?" Miss Plotnik was startled. "Do you think that . . . ?"

"I don't think anything. Anyway, I didn't mean to tell you, but I will. We already have a clue. A girl like the one you described has been seen by one of our detectives."

"Where? When?"

"At the railroad station reading room. There was some guy hanging around her. A pimp, to be sure. We have a record on him."

"Yes, yes. But where could she be now?"

"This was yesterday afternoon, then they lost track of her. They're still looking. Excuse me."

He picked up the telephone receiver and became engrossed in a long conversation with someone who tried to convince the police of the necessity to intervene in some matter concerning a warehouse; Miss Plotnik could hear the shrill screeching on the other end of the line.

She was unable to learn anything more, and decided to kill some time and go to Szczawno, as the lieutenant suggested, but when she got to the station she gave up the idea. She got off the trolley and walked into the reading room, in a desperate need to act.

Although it was still daylight, the lamps were lit and threw a bluish glow on the assembled faces. She didn't reach for a newspaper, but persistently examined the people around her: the faded, parchment-like cheeks of the crippled railroad man who passed out books and chess sets, the sleepy travelers, their heads bent over reading tables, the more animated young faces of students fighting against the temptation to burst into loud talk.

She sat there for a long time; once in a while someone would get up suddenly and make his rapid exit, like a sleepwalker who had finally reached his dream. Outside, trains roared along the tracks. The reading room, a place of bluish silence and calm in a world of change and motion, appeared to Miss Plotnik like a deep cave where one breathes metaphysics, an ante-room of hell or heaven, this is how one would imagine it—a monotonous, growling, bluish glow, human figures engrossed in their inner selves, waiting, rising suddenly in response to commands known only to them. She pinched herself to see whether this was not the continuation of her previous night's dream.

"Eh, who could remember; so many boys and girls come through here," the crippled railroad man was evasive.

"Maybe she was around. Lagoda, Lagoda, I seem to recall something like that, but I wouldn't swear to it. And who

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"You won't be able to hold your tail up. . . ."

Comrade K at the Grass Roots

The merry and abusive personality of the Soviet Premier was on display recently at a special meeting of the Party Central Committee in Moscow, where he laid about him without the slightest regard for the prestige or dignity of his colleagues. The subject was agriculture, admitted to be in a less than satisfactory state. The main difficulty, said Khrushchev, lay not in the policies of the Communist Party but in the sloth and cupidity of the officials entrusted with carrying them out. Below are some of the highlights of the speech he made on January 17.

Think of the People

OUR AGRICULTURE, as has been said before, has also had great successes; yet it should be admitted that the rate of its development is not as high as that of industry. It lags behind the rapid expansion of our industry and growing demands of the population; it is, as it were, out of step. . . . The material well-being of the working people has risen, as have their wages, particularly those of lower-paid workers and employees, and this has, naturally, increased the population's demand for agricultural produce. . . . Therefore we must do everything possible to see that our economy constantly satisfies the rapidly growing needs of the population; otherwise there may be a discrepancy between purchasing power and supply, which is fraught with serious consequences."

"The priests say that those who suffer most on earth will possess the kingdom of heaven after death. We have no right to, we must never model ourselves after such priests. We must always be Communists, people with their feet firmly on the earth; we must provide people with earthly blessings, not promise them celestial ones. And most important of all, we must not only make promises, but solve these problems and do everything to insure that the people's essential requirements are supplied."

"Comrade Lysenko spoke here about the book by Comrade Shevchenko, which I recommend that inhabitants of the virgin lands read—not because it was written by my assistant, but because it is a clever book, and I praise it. When I was preparing to go to the United States for the United Nations session, I felt that we would have to hold a plenum criticizing the shortcomings in agriculture. Before I left I told him: 'Go to the virgin lands; acquaint yourself with affairs there. Go there, look, speak to the people.' And he went. Comrade Shevchenko is an agronomist; he understands the business. He gathered much material. When he reported on his observations, I advised him to write a memorandum to the CPSU Central Committee. He wrote the memorandum. And once more, I advised him to write a pamphlet from the memorandum. After all, a memorandum is read by 20 persons, while a book is read by many. It will be of great use. As is evident, this book has been of use. Comrades, it is necessary to show concern for the cultural and daily living conditions of the people working in the virgin lands. It is necessary to build more houses in the virgin lands, more kindergartens, creches, schools and canteens. This must be done in the virgin lands in the first stage, because in this way a significant group will be freed for work. To give people equipment and good daily life and cultural service is a most important task. This is not, so to speak, only altruistic concern

for the human being; I would even say that it is also a businesslike approach to the matter, because if you build kindergartens and creches mothers will come to work and will take an active and energetic part in communal production. It is necessary to build cultural and daily living establishments everywhere. But I repeat: In the virgin lands where the working force is particularly insufficient, this must be done first and foremost."

"Comrades, if we call upon the people, and not merely through appeals but by working with them; if we select our cadres properly; if we correctly assign them to the decisive sectors of production, we will reap results. The main thing here does not consist in replacing people, but in teaching them how to work. It is the easiest thing with us to replace Ivan with Petr. But maybe Petr will be worse than Ivan? It is necessary to work with the man who, perhaps, doesn't completely understand what he is to do; to point out his mistakes to him, explain what he himself loses by these mistakes—he loses his wages in the sovkhoz; to interest him in the piecework wage, remuneration in kind or in money. Then you will see what people are capable of and what an enormous return in labor they are able to give!"

Skin and Bones in Astrakhan

LAST YEAR I was in Stalingrad. From Stalingrad I was to go to Astrakhan. Many people had gathered by the train's departure time. A shepherd came up to me and said: 'Comrade Khrushchev, I have driven my flock to the slaughterhouse. They are good sheep, but they won't accept them. I have already been here a long time; the sheep are losing weight and I have nothing to feed them. What can I do?' That is the sort of scandalous practice we have had. When an animal is delivered it is fat, but the government purveyors frequently accept skin and bones. How much do kolkhozes and sovkhozes lose because of this, and how much does the country lose? The government purveyors do not suffer because of this. No one is found guilty or responsible. But if the purveyor accepted that herd in the field and was responsible for delivery, then he would think about the sort of sheep he delivered to the slaughterhouse. If the purveyor accepted animals and poultry at the sovkhoz or kolkhoz and was responsible for their delivery to the combine, he would then consider what overexposure and transportation would cost him. At present there is no responsibility, comrades."

"In 1960, in the collective and State farms of the Russian federation, 5,218,000 sheep perished, in Kazakhstan 3,306,000 sheep, in Kirghizia 609,000 and in Georgia 201,000. Kirghizia lost eight percent of all its sheep, Kazakhstan nine percent, Georgia ten and Armenia eleven percent. This has done great damage to the State, to the collective and State farms. Calculate the amount of meat and wool lost! Wool alone worth many millions of rubles has been lost."

"Imagine a layman arriving at a metallurgical factory and explaining to the metalworkers how to smelt steel.

What would be the result? But this would not be possible at a factory. But what of agriculture? There, it seems, anybody can say he is a specialist because he has eaten potatoes in the canteen, he thinks he knows agriculture, that he has something in common with agriculture."

Windbags, Careerists, Political Bankrupts

SOME LEADERS quite recklessly make high production pledges, boast about them loudly, promise to fulfill so many annual plans for production of meat and milk, and make bureaucratic statements about their promises, but do not back up their obligations with any organization or political measures. It is impossible to call such an attitude other than irresponsible. I will quote a few examples. The leaders of Tula Oblast, after the December plenum of the Central Committee in 1959, stated for all the country to hear that in 1960 they would sell to the State 147,000 tons of meat, or an amount equivalent to three annual plans. Well, the year has passed. Have the Tula leaders fulfilled their obligation? No, they have not. Their statement has turned out to be empty chatter. The oblast has sold to the State 62,500 tons of meat, or 43 percent of the obligation. Comrades, a leader must have pride. If he sees that he cannot meet his obligations, he must come and say: 'Comrades, I have failed in my work. I cannot lead the oblast. I have discredited myself. We pledged ourselves to fulfill three plans, and we have not fulfilled one. Allow me to retire.' . . . If we are to undertake obligations so lightly and then not fulfill them, who will believe us? What kind of a Party is it in which there are windbags? We will not respect such a Party. Therefore, comrades, we must fight for the honor of our Party, fight against all who bring discredit to our Party. Measure seven times and cut once, but cut in the right place. Or take Kirov Oblast. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes pledged to sell to the State 116,500 tons of meat. In fact, they sold 75,000 tons, or 65 percent. I will note here: in 1959, 79,000 tons of meat were sold. Thus in 1960 Kirov Oblast has not only failed to fulfill its pledges, but sold even less meat than in 1959. Who needs



"Where are the onions, potatoes, beets?"

"Silence! You are in a store, not a public market."

Krokodil (Moscow), No. 1, 1961

such pledges which are not fulfilled? This is deceiving the Party and the people, and those who embark on such a course must bear full responsibility. . . . The leaders of republics, kraya and oblasts each offer their own explanations for the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the commitments undertaken. Excuses may be found for bureaucrats, but for the people they cannot be found. If anyone attempts to prove that we have no possibilities for a sharp increase in stock-breeding, for meeting the people's demands for agricultural produce, then at the very least he does not see or does not want to utilize existing reserves for solving this problem. He proves himself an inefficient leader. Under our national conditions, with vast spaces of land, and especially with our economic possibilities, only political bankrupts can speak about the unreality of the task of fully satisfying the needs of the country for agricultural produce."

"Unfortunately, serious mistakes have been revealed in Ryazan Oblast. Some kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in an attempt to fulfill the third-year plan at any cost, reduced the number of cattle and thus undermined their opportunities for the coming year. There were cases of doctoring the records—cases of outside purchases of cattle and inclusion of these animals in kolkhoz and sovkhoz production. People guilty of this have been given their well-deserved sentence. I shall mention another fact: In December 1959 Chairman Boyko of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Kremenchug Rayon, Poltava Oblast, was awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor. Such a title is awarded to people who have really earned it. The Party Central Committee received a letter from collective farmer G. F. Poltavets . . . about many serious shortcomings on the kolkhoz. An on-the-spot check established that the facts reported in the letter were true. What, in fact, were the indexes achieved in the kolkhoz where Boyko works as chairman? Total grain harvest: 1959 obligation—22 quintals per hectare; fulfilled in fact—13.3. Corn: 1959 obligation—35 quintals per hectare; obtained in fact—14.3. Potatoes: 1959 obligation—120 quintals per hectare; fulfilled in fact—37.6. . . . On what basis did the Poltava Obkom present Boyko with an award? This is a deception, a crime before the people. People guilty of this are not Communists but careerists who are hanging on to the Party, who want to earn authority not by their labor and skill but by dishonest machinations. . . . Is it honest to buy from other holdings over 1,126 quintals of meat and pretend that it was produced on your kolkhoz? Those who do so are not political organizers but cattle dealers. . . ."

"There has now emerged a category of Party, administrative and agricultural leaders who devote most of their efforts to securing for their oblast the lowest possible plan quotas for purchases of grain, meat, milk and other produce, and obtaining the highest possible ceiling for the supply of produce from the all-union fund of supplies to oblasts. This, comrades, is a dangerous phenomenon. It is common knowledge that the union government on its own does not produce anything—it is the people who consume the products, and we produce them for the people. If one permits, every republic, every oblast, every rayon, every

kolkhoz and sovkhoz begins to contribute less and less to the communal fund and demand more. Then, I ask you, where will the government get the products to satisfy the requirements of the workers? This is a vicious practice, an anti-State tendency."

Crooks and Plunderers

"YOU ALL KNOW, comrades, that as a rule something goes wrong with humidity measurers during grain procurement time. Factories make good instruments, but reasons will nevertheless be found for the humidity measurer not working. Why? This is clear. When they come from a kolkhoz or sovkhoz to deliver grain, the recipient puts a kernel between his teeth and determines the humidity that way, as the gypsy at a fair used to test a silver Tsarist ruble to see whether it was tin. Certain recipients check grain this way. They put the grain between their teeth and there you are—20 percent humidity, although in actual fact the humidity is approximately 17 percent. And you can imagine how much grain such a recipient has 'legally' stolen. We have never tried a single manager of stores for a grain shortage. If one were to weigh all the grain in the stores, there would be no shortage, there would always be a big surplus. Why? Because among the purchasers there are dishonest men, who record the wrong weight and cheat the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is no secret that when a corrupt and thieving worker is sacked he often tries to find a job at a milk reception point. Like bees and flies attracted by honey, these corrupt elements are drawn to these points. Why? Because there he will be well fed, and have plenty to smoke and drink, and in a year or two will manage to build himself a new house. Everybody knows that. But why is this done? The instruments which determine the fat content of the milk are, as a rule, broken at these points, and for this reason the fat content of the milk is checked by sight. . . . Why is there such lack of control? Lack of control can turn even an honest but unstable man into a crook. There should be some public or other control. One should think about this and create such conditions. I do not wish to cast aspersions on all the workers in the procurement system. There are many upright, good Communists working in this system. But one bad apple can ruin the barrel. Therefore, it is smart to sort out the bad apple so it will not ruin the others. The delivery apparatus should be purged of the hangers-on and crooks, for we still have crooks."

"Our corn yields are very low. Usually its harvesting is dragged out. Plunderers pilfer the standing crop. The actual gathered harvest is shown in the statistics. This is correct. But how much of it is lost owing to tardy harvesting and plundering? Some kolkhozes and sovkhozes do not harvest even half of their corn crop."

On the Ukraine

"IN 1960 the State received only 358 million poods [from the Ukraine]. The only time the Ukraine sold less grain than that to the State was in 1946. And you know



"Well, then, how about your livestock count?"
 "As you can see, the number has increased."

Krokodil (Moscow), No. 34, 1960

what sort of year 1946 was, the first year after the war. The economy had been completely destroyed; it was necessary to use cows to plow the land; all field work was done manually. Then it was not the drought that beat down an economy smashed by the war. Now the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Ukraine are working under quite different conditions. They have remarkable cadres and are equipped with the best machinery. How, under these conditions, have the leaders managed to sink to such a low level of grain production, thereby placing their republic in a grave situation? . . . Yes, comrades, we must not say only pleasant things to one another. It is necessary to speak the truth out loud. It is necessary to realize that the collective farmers are forced to pay for the mistakes of the leaders and their incorrect work. If you do not know your job, if you cannot organize things, then give way to those who know how. Why did Comrade Yaroshenko not harvest his sunflower and thus grow a good harvest? For Comrade Kalchenko demanded permission immediately to harvest corn and sunflower. Kalchenko is now sitting here—member of the Central Committee, deputy of the Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Council of Ministers of one of the largest republics—the Ukraine—and everything rolls off him as water does off a duck's back. It does not matter to him that he made a mistake. And what does it mean that he made a mistake? It means that he damaged the economy of a great republic. At another time such incorrect activities and management would have meant that many peasants would face starvation. Under our conditions this cannot happen. Kolkhozes in difficult conditions are aided by the State. And now the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic sends a request to the USSR Council of Ministers for aid to the Ukrainian kolkhozes. . . . Because of the stupidity of the leaders the crops were lost. Is it so or is it not?"

"The number of machines increases, but corn harvests in the Ukraine do not increase. Machines are available. Workers are much more experienced. Yet kolkhozes and sovkhozes sell to the State nearly half the amount of bread

grain! What is the matter? The fault is in the leadership, in organization work, comrades. . . . All depends on people, on cadres. Unfortunately, people who have nothing to do with agriculture sometimes deal with it. Recently Comrade Bubnovskiy, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, said in his memo to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine that, at the Lenin Kolkhoz in Sinelnikovo Rayon, corn was harvested before it reached the milky-waxy stage of ripeness. Comrade Pavlenko, chairman of the kolkhoz, explained that he had been forced to cut and ensilage green corn by the leaders of rayon organizations and the authorized representative of the Obkom, Comrade Osipov. It was then found that Comrade Osipov worked in one of the construction trusts as deputy head of the supply department. He knew nothing about agriculture and had no idea of the different stages in the development of corn and its value as fodder. Comrade Osipov said in a conversation: 'I was told by the oblast authorities to go to the kolkhoz and make them harvest the corn for ensilage, and I did so.' This is the kind of leadership we have, comrades! Well, you know, if agriculture is to be managed in this manner we shall have to remember the proverb: 'You won't be able to hold your tail up but will have to die if there is nothing to eat!' I beg your pardon for this expression, but peasants understand it very well. If you feed a horse well, as the saying goes, it holds its tail like a trumpet and kicks up its legs; it is a pleasure to see. But if you feed it poorly, it barely drags its legs. Cavalrymen know it well, too. Everyone knows that food strikes the morale of the people. During the war when, as it happened, some inspector arrived and inquired about a unit's morale, he was often given the advice: 'Ask the cook or the storekeeper.' If the food is good, morale is also good."

Swindlers, Idlers and Hooligans

"IT IS ESSENTIAL to conduct a merciless struggle against hideous, anti-social manifestations. The Party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers receive letters reporting that a number of republics, oblasts and rayons have relaxed the struggle against this evil. Some towns and settlements do not adhere to the decision on the sale of spirits; the struggle against the distilling of 'samogon' is poorly waged. The inhabitants of the Sentsovo Village in Lipetsk Oblast, Khoryakova and Moreva, write: 'We ask you to take measures against those who spoil our village, who upset discipline and are as busy distilling "samogon" as the United States is busy with armaments. There are many people in our village who distill and sell "samogon." Consequently some people become absentees and do not go to work, but stroll about the streets in a drunken state. People who distill "samogon" from sugar are not prosecuted. There are young women who do not want to work on the State farm but make "samogon" and distract men from work. Some people say that they make better money on "samogon"—three pots bring 120 rubles, and all this in a single day. Take steps against these people. The struggle against them must be waged as soon as

possible. "Samogon" makers live like capitalists.' Similar letters have also been received from other oblasts. Evidently, it is essential to pass in the republics stricter laws against embezzlement, against the distilling of 'samogon,' against drunkenness. . . . It is essential to eradicate mercilessly such evils as parasitism, careless attitudes toward work, the psychology of private ownership. A merciless struggle must be waged against the vestiges of capitalism and it is essential that in this struggle measures by society should be combined with measures of severe administrative punishment. But educating the people is the most important thing. Vladimir Ilich Lenin used to say: Only a voluntary and honest cooperation of the masses of the workers and peasants carried out with revolutionary enthusiasm in the supervision and control over swindlers, idlers and hooligans can defeat these vestiges of the accursed capitalist society, these dregs of mankind, these hopelessly rotten and neurotic members, this infection, plague and ulcer, inherited by Socialism from capitalism."

On Catching Up with the US

IF ALL KOLKHOZES and sovkhozes would produce [at the level of Kalinovka Kolkhoz] our per capita production of meat, butter and milk would be considerably higher than that of the United States. Why do I say this? Be-

cause our possibilities are truly unlimited, but they are badly utilized and this results in too little meat, milk and butter being sold in some towns. But if one telephones some leaders and asks why they haven't any milk for sale they answer calmly: There have been delays. Imagine somebody who has come to have dinner and he is told: There is no milk or meat today because there have been delays in these products in the shop. What is he going to eat—delays? You cannot make a stew out of delays."

"You know, comrades, that I am an optimist. I believe that we can catch up with the United States during the next five years in the per capita production of agricultural produce. The crux of the matter lies in the organization of work. To catch up with the United States in the production of meat, for instance, we have to produce for the whole of the Soviet Union per 100 hectares of agricultural land 42 quintals of slaughtered meat. In 1959, 17 quintals of meat were produced per 100 hectares; but you can see, comrades, that many collective farms, which had even lagged in the past, attained within two years a level of meat production of 80 and even 100 quintals per 100 hectares of land. If this can be done by many kolkhozes and individual rayons, is it not possible for us to achieve this throughout the country during five years? Of course we can."

Facts and Figures

The Harvest in Eastern Europe

WHILE THE Soviet Premier was touring his country and reproving the managers of his socialized agriculture for lying down on their jobs, the independent peasants of Poland were reported to have turned in an unexpectedly good harvest. In contrast to the shortfalls in the USSR—so dramatically spotlighted at the mid-January session of the Central Committee—total production in Poland was 5.4 percent above that of the previous year. This was a pleasant surprise for the authorities in Warsaw. Earlier predictions had envisaged a worse year than 1959, when total agricultural production was 1.3 percent below the preceding year, and last spring the agrarian sector was described as "fraught with difficulties."

Despite late frosts, heavy spring rains, floods in coastal areas and a critical shortage of fertilizers, Polish peasants—most of whom are still small-scale private farmers—achieved record grain yields and a higher sugar beet yield than was planned for 1965. Although grain production

Hungary

| OUTPUT | | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------|------------------|
| | Thousand Tons | 1959 = 100 | 1955-58 = 100 |
| Wheat | 1,768 | 92.6 | 95.2 |
| Rye | 355 | 80.0 | 74.8 |
| Barley | 986 | 90.2 | 125.7 |
| Oats | 245 | 95.8 | 121.5 |

YIELDS

| | Quintals Per Cadastral Hold ¹ | 1959 = 100 | 1955-58 = 100 |
|------------------|---|------------|------------------|
| Wheat | 9.7 | 98.9 | 118.3 |
| Rye | 6.8 | 94.4 | 104.6 |
| Barley | 11.2 | 96.6 | 113.1 |
| Oats | 8.3 | 95.4 | 102.5 |

¹ One cadastral hold equals roughly .57 hectares.

SOURCE: STATISZTIKAI HAVI KOZLEMENYEK, No. 1, 1961.

Poland

OUTPUT

| | <i>Thousand Tons</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Grains | 14,242 | 100.8 |
| Wheat | 2,302 | 92.7 |
| Rye | 7,908 | 97.5 |
| Barley | 1,256 | 120.4 |
| Oats | 2,776 | 111.8 |
| Sugar beets | 10,220 | 171.1 |
| Potatoes | 37,766 | 105.8 |

YIELDS

| | <i>Quintals Per Hectare</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> | <i>1956-59 = 100</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Grains | 16.1 | 102.5 | 108.8 |
| Wheat | 16.9 | 97.7 | 106.3 |
| Rye | 15.4 | 98.7 | 106.9 |
| Barley | 17.4 | 107.4 | 110.8 |
| Oats | 16.9 | 115.0 | 114.2 |
| Sugar beets | 255 | 160.4 | 128.8 |
| Potatoes | 131 | 102.3 | 100.8 |

SOURCE: TRYBUNA LUDU (Warsaw), February 9.

might have been greater had it not been for the autumn drought in 1959, which reduced the sown area for 1960, the losses from floods were markedly less than anticipated due to a good salvaging job by the peasants: losses were estimated at 0.7 percent of the grain harvest, 1.3 percent of the potato crop and about one percent of the sugar beet harvest. Despite pessimistic forecasts, the potato crop was 5.8 percent greater than in 1959. The most remarkable results were attained in sugar beets, where yields were 60.4 percent above the 1959 level, and—with the help of an additional 25,000 hectares planted—there was a 71.1 percent increase in the volume of production.

Czechoslovakia reported an increase of 7 percent in total agricultural production over the 1959 level, and a 12 percent increase in plant production. As in Poland, sugar beets were the outstanding crop of the year; in comparison with the disastrous crop in 1959, both output and yield rose by roughly 69 percent. Greater emphasis on fodder

Bulgaria

OUTPUT

| | <i>Thousand Tons</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> | <i>1953-57 = 100</i> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Wheat | 2,372 | 98 | 118.4 |
| Sunflower seed | 343 | 123 | 153.1 |
| Cotton (unginned) | 64.5 | 125 | 100.8 |
| Sugar beets | 1,620 | 112 | 183.9 |
| Tomatoes | 620 | 130 | 210.2 |

YIELDS

| | <i>Kilograms Per Decare¹</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> | <i>1953-57 = 100</i> |
|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Wheat | 189 | 109 | 132.4 |
| Sunflower seed | 145 | 124 | 136.2 |
| Cotton (unginned) | 82 | 124 | 161.4 |
| Sugar beets | 2,385 | 110 | 143.1 |
| Tomatoes | 2,827 | 116 | 110.8 |

¹ 100 kilograms equals one quintal and 10 decares equals one hectare.

SOURCES: RABOTNICHESKO DELO (Sofia), January 28 and STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, 1959 (Sofia), 1960.

is shown by the production figures for corn, sunflower and root plants, as well as by a drop in the output of wheat and rye. While the 12 percent increase in plant production was no modest achievement, it did not compensate for the stagnation of the agricultural economy during most of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1960): in 1957 no increase in total production was obtained, in 1958 only 3.4 percent, and in 1959 output dropped 1.4 percent. This meant that the results in 1960 were below the targets planned in 1956 by 20 percent in bread grains, 28.9 percent in fodder grains, 32.6 percent in corn and 49.7 percent in potato production. Moreover, the regime was able to obtain these more favorable results in 1960 only through an intense campaign of propaganda. Throughout the year, the press hammered at the urgency of the problem and decried slackness on the part of collective farm members. Work brigades from the factories and army detachments

(Continued inside back cover)

Czechoslovakia

OUTPUT

| | <i>Thousand Tons</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> | <i>1954-58 = 100</i> |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Wheat | 1,504 | 91.2 | 107.6 |
| Rye | 882 | 91.2 | 93.7 |
| Barley | 1,744 | 118.8 | 136.8 |
| Oats (with barley) | 1,037 | 111.6 | 111.5 |
| Corn (grain) | 593 | 117.9 | 141.5 |
| Corn (fodder) | 7,163 | 143.0 | 321.6 |
| Sugar beets | 8,404 | 169.9 | 139.8 |
| Potatoes | 5,254 | 82.9 | 63.7 |
| Root plants (fodder) | 3,591 | 136.0 | 101.7 |
| Corn and sunflower mix (fodder) | 1,379 | 123.9 | 61.9 |

YIELDS

| | <i>Quintals Per Hectare</i> | <i>1959 = 100</i> | <i>1954-58 = 100</i> |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Wheat | 23.1 | 100.9 | 119.6 |
| Rye | 20.5 | 101.0 | 111.4 |
| Barley | 24.7 | 112.8 | 126.6 |
| Oats (with barley) | 20.6 | 112.0 | 115.7 |
| Corn (grain) | 30.4 | 108.6 | 121.1 |
| Corn (fodder) | 291.2 | 100.7 | 102.8 |
| Sugar beets | 347.0 | 168.8 | 128.3 |
| Potatoes | 92.3 | 84.9 | 69.8 |
| Root plants (fodder) | 348.0 | 134.6 | 112.2 |
| Corn and sunflower mix (fodder) | 254.0 | 106.9 | 89.7 |

SOURCE: ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY (Prague), February 8.



An enlarged Czechoslovak farm, created by the merger of two collectives in March 1960, holds its first joint meeting to discuss work norms.

Kvety (Prague), May 5, 1960

Giant Farms

After the peasants have been fully collectivized the next step, according to Communist doctrine, is to transform the farms into large-scale industrial enterprises.

IN THE NARROW Maritsa valley of southern Bulgaria, there is a new "Socialist" farm which encompasses nearly 45,000 acres of arable land; it includes 17 formerly independent villages and a total population of 42,000. A 19-man board of directors seated in the village of Krichim governs this giant farm as if it were a modern industrial corporation. The Krichim collective is not an isolated phenomenon. Although somewhat larger than its neighbors, it is one among 932 Bulgarian collective farms which have displaced over one million small peasant proprietors.

A similar tendency toward giant farms is to be found elsewhere in the Soviet bloc, notably Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the USSR, and it is clear that this is the shape of the future in the minds of Communist authorities—"the final phase in the process of building up the agricultural economy upon a Socialist foundation." By world standards the process has already gone quite far. The average size of the collective farms ranges from roughly 1,000 acres in Czechoslovakia, 1,800 in Hungary and 6,500 in the Soviet

Union to 10,000 in Bulgaria.* In the United States, by comparison only a very small percentage of the farms have more than 500 acres of arable land; only the largest American commercial farms compare with the new giants of the Soviet bloc. Ironically, it is from the large American "factories in the fields" that the Communists have drawn many of their ideas for the mechanized farming of the future.

The standard Communist strategy in arriving at the large-scale farm passes through several stages. After World War II the East European Communists strongly supported the land-reform programs of other parties, and helped to parcel out large estates among the land-hungry peasants (as did their colleagues in Asia). The next step was to "socialize" the peasants by pressing them into collective farms—called "cooperatives"—where most of the land was

* The figures cited represent arable land except in Czechoslovakia, where other land is included.

held in common. Nominally, these were voluntary organizations in which the peasant retained ownership of his land as well as the right to withdraw if he chose, but in practice they were run by the authorities without much regard for the wishes of the members. Collectivization of the farmers is now virtually complete in Bulgaria and East Germany; it is in its final stages in Czechoslovakia and Hungary; it is progressing in Albania and Romania; but in Poland it has remained minimal because the Gomulka regime has chosen not to pursue it in face of the strong resistance of the Polish peasants. When collective farming has become a *fait accompli*, the next step is to merge the collectives into larger units—a process which effectively destroys the myth that the peasants control the collectives. In Eastern Europe the merging has so far been confined primarily to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, but the Hungarian authorities have indicated that they are likely to follow as soon as they have brought the remaining private land under the common plow.

The Agro-City

THE CHIEF ENGINEER in the merging of the collective farms has been Nikita Khrushchev. The Soviet Premier first began expounding his views during Stalin's time, and when he became the Kremlin's agricultural expert in 1950 he started putting them into effect. His first call to merge adjacent collectives into larger units went out in March 1950. By the end of the year, the number of collective farms in the USSR had been reduced to less than half the number of nine months earlier.

The enlarged farms served as a basis for a grander scheme, calling for the establishment of "agro-cities," which he unfolded in March 1951. He proposed concentrating villages into large urban-like settlements which would contain large apartment buildings for housing the peasants (who would then move away from their individual farmsteads) and dining halls, shops, small industries and other features normally associated with urbanization. The former private plots of the collective farm members were to be replaced by small garden plots on the outskirts of the new towns where they could be tilled in common by the town's population.

This scheme was never acted upon, although there was persistent talk of bringing the daily life of the collective farmers closer to conditions of urban life. When Khrushchev emerged at the helm of the Soviet State, he instituted a quite different set of policies: lower taxes, the abolition of compulsory deliveries; higher prices for farm products; more and cheaper supplies of machinery; and the dismantling of the Machine Tractor Stations. It looked as if Khrushchev were scuttling his old dreams in favor of practical results.

Time to Experiment

In fact, he had nothing of the kind in mind. In the fall of 1958, the Soviet Premier vacationed in the village of Kalinovka in the eastern Ukraine, his native home and the

site of a model collective farm. Full of advice, as usual, he urged the farm management to merge their fields with those of nearby collectives. The chairman responded by increasing the farm's 1,600 hectares of arable land (3,954 acres) to 5,000 hectares (12,355 acres) through a merger with two neighboring villages. This was the signal for a spate of mergers throughout the USSR. Two years later Khrushchev returned to Kalinovka and revived another of his old ideas, that of the agro-city:

"I'm for moving people from the separate farmsteads and small settlements into attractive villages with modern, well-built houses and good streets and sidewalks so that all the conditions are created for a cultured life. Each one will have a school, a hospital, a maternity home, nurseries and so forth. In the future collective farmers will go to their jobs in the fields by trucks. . . .

"Your homes are well built, I like them. They are comfortable. But this kind of building is expensive for collective farms. . . . Think about whether it wouldn't be worthwhile to shift from the construction of small homes to construction of apartment houses of several stories—but not more than five. Several of our collectives have already built multi-story houses. . . . In the first place, the peasant will no longer have to worry about fuel, water and a lot of other things. A big apartment house will have piped water and central heating. In the second place, expenses for fuel, the building of sidewalks and roads and the installation of sewers and water mains will be reduced. The time has come for you to provide yourselves with all the comforts of life a man needs."¹

While Soviet agricultural policies are much more complex than the above quotation suggests, they are all tailored to the ultimate aim of making the countryside into "national property." Within this framework, the giant collective farms have a critical role to play. An eminent Soviet economist, S. Strumilin, described that role in a recent issue of one of the USSR's leading economic journals. If the Soviet Union is to catch up with the US in agricultural labor productivity during the next ten to fifteen years, he wrote, then approximately 20 to 30 million peasants—not to mention their families—must move from the farms into other lines of work. He argued that the "small" and poorer collective farms would have to merge and then join with their neighbors in larger territorial combinations.

"But this is not all. It is high time that the system switched on the run from the narrowly agrarian to the agrarian-industrial track. It is time the collective farms built their own mills and bakeries, creameries, canneries and sugar refineries and enterprises for the processing of flax and cotton and other types of local raw materials. At the same time, in bringing the countryside abreast of the city, an enormous job of rural construction—in production facilities, housing, and public amenities—lies ahead in the next few years. Well, then the collective farmers will require their own brick, cement and other building materials. To whom is it best to entrust such industrialization of the countryside if not to the collective farm organizations that have the greatest personal interest in it? But only broad and powerful collective farm combinations will be able to cope with this task. And if they exist, it will also be far easier and simpler to effect the

COLLECTIVE FARMS IN THE USSR

| | Total Number | Households per Farm | Average Acreage ¹ |
|------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1937 | 242,500 | 76 | 1,460 |
| 1950 | 121,400 | 165 | 3,017 |
| 1956 | 83,000 | 238 | 5,118 |
| 1957 | 76,500 | 245 | 4,769 |
| 1958 | 67,700 | 276 | 5,258 |
| 1959 | 53,400 | 343 | 6,445 |

¹ Arable land.

Source: SEL'SKOE KHOZYAISTVO SSSR (RURAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR), Gosstatizdat (Moscow), 1960.

redistribution of manpower surpluses within the limits of the whole system of merged collective farms. This is all the more true since the syndicalist illusion now possible, namely, that each separate collective farm is the proprietor of all available means of labor and of its accumulated profits, will automatically be dispelled in such a broad merging of collective farms. . . .²

Bulgaria's Big Leap

THE SOFIA REGIME merged its farms late in 1958. While there had been some talk of merging in 1957 and during early 1958, the real campaign did not begin until Party chief Todor Zhivkov pronounced his famous thesis of the "big leap forward" which set such enormous goals for both industry and agriculture in the fall of 1958. Zhivkov asserted flatly that collective farms below 1,000 hectares (2,471 acres)—which comprised about 57 percent of all Bulgarian collective farms at the end of 1957—were unprofitable. He argued that mergers would "considerably increase the economic power of the farms" by enabling them to make more effective use of their capital funds. "It is a question of elevating the collectives to a higher

level. However, it must be a voluntary movement. . . . Force or administrative pressures are not admissible. As for the collective farmers who do not desire to merge with their neighbors, let them not merge. This is their business."³

If agricultural production failed to leap upward in the ensuing months the number of mergers did, casting some doubt on the degree to which the process was a "voluntary movement." On November 10, 1958, Radio Sofia declared: "The nationwide march has begun. Collective farm members from all over the countryside, convinced of the irrefutable advantage of large collectives, have begun to merge several neighboring farms into one." On January 20, 1959, only three months after the drive began, Zhivkov reported that "the merging of collective farms is nearing completion." The 3,450 collective farms existing before the campaign, averaging 1,100 hectares of arable land apiece, he said, "have merged into 625 collective farms with an average of 7,000 hectares each" (17,290 acres).⁴

Some of the enlarged farms included in his total must have existed only on paper, since by March 1959, the press was regularly talking in terms of 975 merged collective farms containing an average of roughly 4,500 hectares each. Latest reports put the number of farms at 932 and the average size at 4,200 hectares of arable land.⁵

Whatever the precise figures, Sofia managed to out-merge even the Soviet Union where the average collective farm size at the end of 1959 was only about half the lowest data quoted in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians went so far and so fast, in fact, that the question arose as to whether they might be following the example of Communist China. (They had even adopted the Chinese phrase, the "big leap forward," to symbolize the stepped-up pace of economic development.) The regime has taken great pains to debunk that idea. Radio Sofia explained on December 18, 1958, that economic development had its peculiarities in every country. "In the USSR it is based on highly developed techniques. In the Chinese People's Republic, because of technical inadequacy, it is based on the use of millions of laborers. In our country . . . [it is] based on a combination of technique and available labor. Thus it is not correct to consider that in our country Chinese methods are being adopted. We learn first of all from the Soviet Union. . . ."⁶

There were, however, other resemblances to the Chinese commune system. For example, the boundaries of municipal governments in the countryside were made to correspond to those of the merged collective farms, and all villages contained within a farm were made subordinate



The management of a farm in Slovakia discusses the current Third Five Year Plan which it has pledged to fulfill within four years.

Zivot (Bratislava), January 5, 1961

COLLECTIVE FARMS IN BULGARIA

| | Total Number | Households per Farm | Average Acreage ¹ |
|------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1953 | 2,744 | 207 | 2,127 |
| 1956 | 3,100 | 294 | 2,555 |
| 1958 | 3,290 | 374 | 2,850 |
| 1959 | 972 | 1,328 | 10,340 |

¹ Arable land.

Sources: STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, 1959 (Sofia), p. 147; and STATISTICAL HANDBOOK, 1960.



Tractors and specialized machinery take over corn cultivation—replacing the traditional hoe—on a giant farm in Bulgaria. Output fell in 1960.

New Bulgaria (Sofia), April 1960

to it. At the same time, the scope of activity of the collective farms was extended to include matters previously under the management of State organs; local artisan collectives and small-scale industry in the villages were placed under their jurisdiction. Yet, in sum, the Bulgarian changes were more in keeping with the spirit of Khrushchev's ideas—including his dream of the "agro-city"—than they were with Red China's communes.

Caution in Prague

IN CONTRAST to Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak approach to the merging of the collective farms has been remarkable for its restraint, and the farms which have resulted are small compared to those in both Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. According to the Party daily *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 8, 1961, the drive, now temporarily halted, has affected 3,477 collectives and has reduced the total number of collective farms to 10,816. On the average, the merged collectives contain 654 hectares (1,615 acres) of agricultural land. The average size of the constituent farms had been 261 hectares.

Until the quiet merging campaign began in September 1959, the Czechs had not been particularly enthusiastic about the idea. In a public address in April 1959, President Antonin Novotny went into considerable detail to explain why the founding of large farms was not a pressing issue in Czechoslovakia: "In view of the size of our State

and the density of its settlements, the situation in our country is different from that, for example, in the Soviet Union. Villages are separated only by a distance of a few kilometers and are an economic and cultural entity. There is a good communications network by road and rail. The distribution network is likewise already developed, and our villages, mainly in the interior, are of recent construction. It is, however, true that where there are suitable conditions—and that is in only a few regions of our country—large collectives of several thousand hectares can be established."¹⁶

Even after the campaign started it was marked by caution, and the authorities issued strong warnings to local Party functionaries against trying to "show off" with the number of mergers that they could chalk up. While the small farms were urged to combine, the leaders appealed to the agricultural experts to make thorough studies and express their opinion on the most efficient ways and means of bringing the mergers about. They insisted that the step should be taken only after expert economic analysis, adequate provision for well-trained cadres, and complete agreement on the part of the collective members. In the early stage, the question of optimum size was left in abeyance. "There are many guesses in this respect," said the organ of the Ministry of Agriculture. "We have today in the Republic collective farms of 50 hectares, but we have in southern Slovakia the Kolarovo collective with 4,500 hectares. . . . It cannot be clearly stated which size of an agricultural enterprise would be most advantageous in our

country. This depends on local production and economic conditions."⁷

At the outset the Czechoslovak collective farm mergers were closely linked with the territorial reorganization which was aimed at restructuring the regional and local administration along lines of natural economic divisions. Like the Bulgarian reforms, these measures were fashioned after the earlier Soviet decentralization; the objectives envisaged stronger ties between collective farms and regional and local government. One of the principal aims was to rationalize the management in both organs. Attempts were made to strengthen the farms by diverting qualified officials from the top-heavy administrative apparatus into the agricultural sphere. At the same time, sharp salary increases were introduced for managers and experts on the collectives, and liberal bonuses were offered to qualified people who would take permanent executive posts on the farms.

As the movement progressed into 1960, government and press became more and more friendly toward the idea of large farms and toward other features of Khrushchev's dream for the countryside. In January 1960, the press hailed the formation of a new merged collective farm in Slovakia which displayed all the characteristics of Khrushchev's model farm of Kalinovka: its own machinery, a guaranteed payment system for all the members and common tilling of all private plots. All jobs on the farm were said to be divided into seven grades according to skill, and a fixed wage attached to each. In addition, the members had the opportunity of earning a premium, up to 30 percent of the basic wage, for work done above the norm. The farm was praised as an important step in bringing "the village nearer to the town."⁸

Meanwhile, specialists of the Czechoslovak Research Institute for Agricultural Economy were conducting studies in the countryside, and in mid-1960 they submitted for "public discussion" a number of proposals regarding the future of the agrarian economy. They recommended farms of 1,200 to 2,400 hectares as the most suitable size, and emphasized—reminiscent of Khrushchev's "agro-cities"—the concentration of the rural population into larger settlements of multi-story apartment houses.⁹ While these ideas have stimulated much discussion in the press, the wide

COLLECTIVE FARMS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

| | Total Number | Membership per Farm | Average Acreage ¹ |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1953 | 6,679 | 57.0 | 804 |
| 1956 | 8,016 | 49.3 | 689 |
| 1957 | 11,090 | 59.2 | 771 |
| 1958 | 12,140 | 70.2 | 873 |
| 1959 | 12,560 | 77.2 | 940 |
| 1960 (June) | 11,153 | — | 1,006 |
| 1961 (Jan.) | 10,816 | — | — |

¹ Agricultural land, including cropland, vineyards, orchards, pastures and meadows.

Sources: STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, 1959 (Prague); and 1960; HOSPODARSKE NOVINY (Prague), September 16, 1960; and RUDE PRAVO (Prague), February 8, 1961.

variety of opinion expressed indicates that little in the way of concrete plans are in the making. The Slovak trade union daily *Praca* (Bratislava), October 23, 1960, lauded the "new environment" which the implementation of such a scheme could bring to the countryside, but it admitted that even among the specialists there was no consensus of opinion regarding the precise nature of the new towns:

"One view holds that the main village should not have less than 600 inhabitants while the adjoining villages would remain and only those very unfavorably situated and dispersed would be abolished. The group should comprise roughly 3,000 people. According to another plan all associated villages should be liquidated gradually and the inhabitants concentrated in one village with at least 3,000 inhabitants."

In any event, the newspaper concluded, "This transformation of the countryside will take a long time."

Problems and Difficulties

WHILE THE GIANT farm may look fine on paper (although few non-Communist agricultural experts are convinced that it does), turning it into a viable economic system is quite a different matter. It requires the positive cooperation of the peasant population who are traditionally disdainful of change and have little or no interest in becoming rural industrial workers. Aside from this fundamental friction, the regimes have encountered difficulties in shaping their new "supercollectives" and pulling together the separate strands of policy. One rather ludicrous example of the kind of trouble that has resulted comes from Czechoslovakia. Two collective farms were merged that did not have a common border, and the travelling distance was roughly eight kilometers. As a result, the cost of transporting the workers, the fodder and the fertilizers, etc., was so high that it immediately reduced income in both farms. "We have added to our troubles," said the manager. "We considered the merging a very easy matter. We did not think of the difficulties that would arise in the organization of work."¹⁰

Troubles with the giant collectives in Bulgaria have taken several forms. The most criticized manifestation has been the effect on so-called "State discipline." A number of collective farm managers, finding themselves in a more powerful position after the mergers, have refined their battery of ruses and stratagems for evading State purchasers and shipping their produce to the free markets where they obtain higher prices. The most embarrassing of their methods, as far as the regime is concerned, has been their interference with the private plots of the members, either by assignment of excessive delivery quotas or by collective cultivation of the plots. While the Communists are dedicated to the ultimate elimination of these "anachronistic remnants of bourgeois peasant mentality," they are caught in the uncomfortable position of defending them for the sake of the food supply. Private production on these plots still bulks very large in the total provision of food for the population, especially in animal products.

Other difficulties stem from the enormous organizational

tasks. Sofia has had to issue strong warning against what it allusively terms "growing centrifugal forces" in the merged collectives: namely, attempts to separate the farms and restore the old boundary lines. "The centrifugal forces and trends are being brought about and developed primarily by the managements of the collective farms, by the municipal people's councils, and by the mass organizations. We must deal with harmful manifestations arising from personal quarrels of collective farm managers among themselves and with cunning plans to separate the village or to change the existing center of the merged collective." In some of the farms, the lower echelons of management representing various villages are said to disregard the decisions of the managing council and act instead on their own volition. "We have merged, but we can work and act independently."¹¹

The reasons for this attitude are not hard to discover. Participation in decision making is restricted by the sheer size and administrative complexity of the new rural organizations, with the result that the top executives have become increasingly arbitrary in handing down orders:

"The meetings are often held without satisfactory preliminary preparation and without any announcement of the agenda. Questions of the agenda are not discussed in individual brigades, farms and settlements. To make things easier the managing councils of certain collective farms tolerate the election of delegates primarily from the administrative-managerial apparatus, giving them a one-year mandate rather than electing them for each individual meeting. All this, of course, has brought about and is bringing about in a number of collectives a certain alienation of the managing bodies from the collective farmers."¹²

"Beware of Gigantomania"

There has been some awareness that it is possible to make a farm too big. Interestingly enough, this has not been shown by the Bulgarians who have the largest collectives. The Soviets, which have had more experience with the problem, periodically send up warning signals against "gigantomania." For example, a radio broadcast on November 26, 1960 from Riga, capital of once independent Latvia, after a glowing account of the successful development of the agro-cities in the area, concluded with the following words of advice: "The view has developed among some people . . . that only five or six villages are needed in some regions. Gigantomania, like exaggerated dispersal, is an equally undesirable tendency, resulting from a superficial approach to the matter."

During the Soviet Central Committee meeting on agriculture in January in which Khrushchev interrupted, heckled or praised the speakers, the Soviet Premier asked a collective farm chairman from Byelorussia what size farm he managed. The reply was 5,973 hectares (14,754 acres). "This is good," said Khrushchev, "but one must not be carried away by consolidation either. Comrade Prokhorov published an article describing the merging of a farm. In the collective directed by him there are, I think, 27,000 hectares (66,690 acres) of land and 137 inhabited places.

COLLECTIVE FARMS IN HUNGARY

| | <i>Total Number</i> | <i>Households per Farm</i> | <i>Average Acreage¹</i> |
|--------------|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1953 | 4,536 | 43.6 | 537 |
| 1956 | 2,089 | 46.9 | 593 |
| 1957 | 3,394 | 39.2 | 492 |
| 1958 | 3,507 | 40.8 | 552 |
| 1959 | 4,489 | 110.7 | 1,212 |
| 1960 (Sept.) | 4,419 | 176.1 | 1,796 |

¹ *Arable land.*

Source: STATISZTIKAI HAVI KOZLEMENYEK (Budapest), No. 1, 1961.

This, of course, has not been done correctly, for it is very difficult to manage such a farm." In his own speech at the plenum, after referring again to the same farm, Khrushchev added the following dictum:

"Such a farm is possible, but only somewhere in the virgin soil areas, in the expanses of the steppes. I do not know the conditions . . . but I would like to say that if errors occur in connection with the merging of collective farms, do not be afraid to correct them, to effect separation in order to create mobile farms, manageable farms. Do not be afraid to admit the mistake, because if you do not admit it today you will have to admit it tomorrow, but by then you will have caused great harm to the farm."¹³

From Peasantry to Proletariat

IN THEIR EFFORTS to "build Socialism," the Communists have had to reckon—both in practice and in theory—with large peasant populations whose habits and vital interests are quite different from those of industrial workers. Collective farms have provided a solution to one aspect of the urban-rural conflict, giving the government political and economic control of the peasantry. Large-scale socialized farming also offers an avenue to the Marxist utopia of a rationalized, scientific society in which there will be no differences between the town and the country. The new giant farms are one step toward that goal, and Khrushchev's agro-cities of the future are to complete the process by tearing the peasants from their land entirely.

SOURCES FOR THIS ARTICLE

¹ *PRAVDA* (Moscow), September 3, 1960

² *VOPROSY EKONOMIKI* (Moscow), July 1960

³ *RABOTNICHESKO DELO* (Sofia), October 24, 1958

⁴ *IBID.*, January 20, 1959

⁵ *IBID.*, September 9, 1960

⁶ *PRAVE* (Prague), April 18, 1959

⁷ *ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY* (Prague), November 13, 1959

⁸ *PRAVDA* (Bratislava), January 20, 1960

⁹ *HOSPODAR JZD* (Prague), July 1960

¹⁰ *ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY*, January 20, 1960

¹¹ *OTECHESTVEN FRONT* (Sofia), November 17, 1959

¹² *RABOTNICHESKO DELO*, April 29, 1960

¹³ *Radio Moscow*, January 18, 1961

THE SPY CATCHERS (continued from page 6)

such exhibit, "an American spy," Mihaly Fenyvesi, was provided with the following case history:

"Aged 24, a hooligan without occupation. He escaped to the West after the counterrevolution. In September 1958 American intelligence in Munich recruited and trained him. He came to Hungary illegally in October 1958 and took snapshots of military bases with his Minox camera. In the same way as the other imperialist agents, Fenyvesi, too, received his deserved punishment. The Budapest military court sentenced him to death."¹²

The purpose of these shows has been clearly stated: "The exhibition is intended to expose the systematic subversive and spying activities carried on by the agents of Western imperialists, notably the USA and West Germany. . . . It is the duty of every citizen of this country to protect our peace and security. Unmasking of spies can only be carried out successfully if State security agencies receive help from the working people."¹³

Poland Exposes US "Spy Ring"

The case of Wieslaw Stepek, an emigre Pole, was the major spy story unveiled by the Polish press in the waning weeks of the Eisenhower administration. Stepek was reportedly recruited by American intelligence agents in 1951, chosen from several thousand Poles working for US military bases in West Germany. With 18 other neophyte spies, he was transferred to an American intelligence center near Richmond, Virginia, where he was "extensively trained in espionage work." His curriculum contained "the principles of conspiracy, methods of organizing spy networks, ways and means of obtaining information and also of creating diversions, such as blowing up bridges, disrupting communications, etc. . . . Much attention was paid to political lectures in order to 'harden' the men against the influence of Communist doctrine."

After further descriptions of his training, the account went on to describe how Stepek was sent back to Poland "on the pretext of visiting his family living in Rzeszow. The real purpose of the visit, however, was to engage in certain espionage activities. . . . Stepek visited a number of places of interest to American intelligence agents and gathered various information concerning the defenses of our country. To aid in his espionage work, Stepek enlisted the voluntary and involuntary aid of various persons, including those from his immediate family, thus exposing them to the resulting consequences. After his capture, a notebook was found on Stepek, 28 pages of which were filled with intelligence information and numerous sketches of military objects, all set down in special code."¹⁴ Stepek was to stand trial, but months later no trial had yet been announced.

Spies Elsewhere

The incidence of spy catching and espionage trials was much less frequent in more remote Bulgaria, Romania and Albania, although the latter country had spy problems of a special nature involving Yugoslav "agents." The only trial reported in the Bulgarian press since 1956 occurred June

1958, when a group of "spies and defectors" in the service of "the USA and Turkey" were sentenced by the Sofia court to 15 years imprisonment.¹⁵ Romania has been even more reticent in using enemy agents for propaganda, although in 1959 when some Jewish emigration was allowed to Israel, Western sources reported that a Jewish caretaker in the Israeli legation in Bucharest had been charged with espionage. After the emigration was halted following complaints from the Arab States, there were rumors of arrests of Jews for the crime of "spreading Zionist propaganda";

"YOU'RE KNOCKING ON THE WRONG DOOR, MISTER CAMPBELL"

Anyone is suspect, as has been proved time and again when the unwitting foreigner has been arrested, questioned or expelled from the Soviet bloc. Most recently, the Bulgarian Journalist N. Nikolov reported the following conversation with a Ron Campbell of the Columbia Broadcasting System who was covering the international parachute competition in the Bulgarian village of Musachevo.

"Campbell put his arm around me and said: 'Listen, can I count on you?'

"'What's your proposition?' I asked.

"'It mustn't look like too much to begin with,' Campbell answered. 'At first, we'll only correspond. But when the flowers bloom—remember this expression—I'll be back. I can take you to America and there'll be a lot of money waiting for you. It will depend on what you write.'

"'What do you mean? I'm not a journalist?'

"'Don't worry about journalists. You will write to me about things which interest me. And, so that no one else catches on, you send the letter to me by courier.'

"'Campbell,' I exclaimed. 'You are a spy and you are proposing that I act like you!'

"He was alarmed. He got up and tried to smile.

"'I haven't said any such thing.'

"'I don't want to know you any longer,' I said.

"Campbell grasped my arm. 'You're running away from things. I want to make you rich, because I like you. I'm not trying to brainwash you. America doesn't have any interest in Bulgaria. What we two can do together will be for the freedom of your people.'

"'Listen, Campbell, you're a coward and nothing more. I'm sorry I helped you with your articles. I considered you a journalist. But you're knocking on the wrong door. Remember, in our country, no one will open it for you. And get away from here, before it's too late.'

"Ron Campbell's plane has left. . . . You rushed away without taking your luggage, and you were right to do this. You were right to be alarmed. In Socialist Bulgaria, there is no place for spies and cowards."

(*Rabotnicheskoe Delo* [Sofia], August 30, 1960.)

these may have been useful in discouraging Romanian Jews from applying for more visas.

Conclusion

FOR THE MOMENT all is quiescent. The overtures of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to President Kennedy, including the release of the two American pilots of the RB-47 downed last July, indicate that the accusations of espionage were indeed a feature of the closing weeks of the Eisenhower administration. With abatement of the anti-Adenauer offensive, even the ubiquitous West German "agents" may not trouble the international scene for some time. But the spy campaigns are a specialty of the Communist regimes and can be reactivated at any instant. A worsening of the Berlin situation, a deadlock in any future Khrushchev-Kennedy talks, the exacerbation of the Oder-Neisse line question, could provoke a new rash of

arrests with the sudden appearance of more secret agents sent to threaten the security of the Soviet bloc.

SOURCES FOR THIS ARTICLE

- ¹ NEPSZABADSAG (Budapest), December 8, 1957.
- ² NEPSZABADSAG, February 5, 1957.
- ³ NEPSZABADSAG, January 20, 1957.
- ⁴ NEPSZABADSAG, January 27, 1957.
- ⁵ NEPSZABADSAG, September 14, 1958.
- ⁶ RUDE PRAVO (Prague), March 13, 1958.
- ⁷ RUDE PRAVO, March 24, 1958.
- ⁸ RUDE PRAVO, July 13, 1960.
- ⁹ RUDE PRAVO, November 1-2, 1960.
- ¹⁰ MILADY SVET (Prague), October 17, 1960.
- ¹¹ PRZYJACIEL ZOLNIERZA (Warsaw), January 1-15, 1959.
- ¹² DUNANTULI NAPLO (Pecs), August 27, 1960.
- ¹³ HAJDU BIHARI NAPLO (Debrecen), May 11, 1960.
- ¹⁴ TRYBUNA LUDU (Warsaw), November 19, 1960.
- ¹⁵ RABOTNICHESKO DELO (Sofia), June 18, 1958.

Eastern Europe Overseas

The East European Satellites have played a little-publicized but important part in the Communist drive to win friends and influence among countries that are not allied to the West. Trade missions, technicians and cultural delegations are in constant movement between the capitals of Eastern Europe and the "uncommitted countries." We give below a summary of the most important contacts made in the last month.

January 2 The Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprise Centrotex has concluded a number of contracts with Egyptian cotton export firms for 1961. Jeri Petrak, the general director, said upon his return from Egypt that Czechoslovak cotton imports from Egypt have increased fivefold over the prewar level. In the past two years, Czechoslovakia has exported to Egypt two power plants, cane-crushing equipment for a sugar mill, equipment for a nonferrous metal rolling mill, a factory for the production of ceramics and porcelain, a rubber toy plant, a bicycle plant, a fire clay factory, a plywood factory and equipment for a footwear factory. Textile machinery, diesel equipment, freight cars, tractors, trucks, machine tools and equipment for mills, and several pumping stations were also delivered. (CTK [Prague].)

January 4 Czechoslovak specialists are completing the installation work at a rubber flooring factory in Teheran. The plant is scheduled to go into immediate operation. (CTK [Prague].)

January 6 Romania and Cuba signed a television collaboration agreement in Bucharest. (Radio Bucharest.)

January 8 Hungary will deliver three plants to the United Arab Republic, two of which—an electrode and a cable plant—will be installed by Hungarian experts within six months. The plants were ordered by the Soviet Union and are being given according to a loan agreement between the UAR and USSR. (Nepszabadsag [Budapest].)

Czechoslovakia will send a large archeological expedition and a specially equipped ship to Egypt to assist in the preservation of the Nubian monuments in the Aswan Dam flood areas (CTK [Prague].)

January 11 Hungary will participate in the construction of a chemical industry machine tool factory in India. Total value of the machinery and the construction will be approximately 5.5 million rubles. (MTI [Budapest].)

January 12 A trade protocol and an agreement for technical assistance and equipment for the construction of

industrial projects in Cuba for the period 1961-65 was signed in Sofia. Under the trade protocol Bulgaria will import from Cuba 40,000 tons of sugar; pelts, shoes, coffee, manganese ore, etc.; and will export machinery, electric motors, chemicals, etc. Bulgaria will deliver to Cuba 14 enterprises including a transformer plant, a calcium carbide plant, food-processing factories, and 10 hydroelectric power stations. Cuban students will be sent to study in Bulgarian universities. Bulgaria will give Cuba a long-term credit valued at 5 million dollars. The agreements were signed by Hector Llompart, Cuba's Deputy Foreign Minister, and Dobri Aleksiev, Bulgarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. (Radio Sofia.)

The Cuban trade delegation headed by Hector Llompart arrived in Albania January 12. (Radio Tirana).

January 13 Sekou Toure, President of Guinea, paid a state visit to Bulgaria January 11-13. He was accompanied by his ministers of Health, Justice, and Education, and by other administrative officials. While in Bulgaria he addressed Guinean students who are studying in Bulgarian universities. (Radio Sofia.)

Poland's foreign trade board signed an agreement with Cuba to supply machine tools of a total value of over 1 million dollars. Some 90 percent of the supplies will be delivered this year. (Radio Warsaw.)

January 14 A delegation of the General Confederation of Labor of Cameroun arrived in Budapest for a 12-day study of trade union work in Hungary. (Radio Budapest.) The delegation proceeded to Bulgaria January 26. (Radio Sofia.)

The Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprise Technoexport dispatched the first machines for a thermo-electric power station to the State of Rio Grande de Sulo in Brazil. The plant will also be assembled and put into operation by the Czechoslovak firm. (Radio Prague.)

Hungary established diplomatic relations with Nepal on the ambassadorial level. (Radio Budapest.)

Ratification documents for the Hungarian-Iraqi air traffic agreement, establishing an airline route between Budapest and Baghdad, were exchanged at the Iraqi Foreign Ministry. (Radio Budapest.)

January 16 The first Hungarian-Cuban film exchange agreement was signed in Havana. (Radio Budapest.)

The Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprise Kovo increased its exports of engineering products to African states in 1960; particularly to Guinea, whose purchases were more than three and one-half times above the 1959 level. (CTK [Prague].)

January 18 Radio Prague inaugurated a program of listeners' letters from Africa in conjunction with its service to Africa. (Radio Prague.)

January 19 Czechoslovakia concluded an air transport agreement with Lebanon. (Radio Prague.)

January 20 The director of the Labor Office in Bombay, Vasudeva Kamath, is in Prague to study socio-eco-

nomic questions and the Czechoslovak trade union movement. (Radio Prague.)

January 20 Polish Radio inaugurated a daily broadcast service to Africa. Its announced objective is to give a picture of life in Poland, of economic achievements of the past 15 years, the Polish viewpoint on international developments, and greetings and messages from African students studying at Polish universities to their families and friends in Africa. (Radio Warsaw.)

January 23 A delegation of cultural workers from Ecuador visiting Czechoslovakia discussed cultural relations with representatives of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the Writers' Union, and the Philological Department of Charles University. (CTK [Prague].)

Czechoslovak Pharmaceutical Enterprises has opened an information center in Cairo, as part of the development of mutual cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the UAR in the field of medical services. (CTK [Prague].)

January 24 India has confirmed an agreement under which the Indian firm Garlick will manufacture travelling cranes from designs and specifications supplied by Hungarian industry. Initially the cranes will be assembled in India from components manufactured in Hungary, but after five years India will also produce the components. (Radio Budapest.)

Two dams built by Bulgarian construction enterprises will be commissioned in Syria. Bulgarian projects have won an international contest for the development of seven provincial towns in the UAR. Bulgaria is building a road in Iraq and has concluded technical assistance agreements with Guinea and Tunisia. (Zemedelsko Zname [Sofia].)

January 31 A delegation of the Peasant Self-Help Cooperatives in Poland is visiting Ghana. (PAP [Warsaw].)

A Czechoslovak trade delegation arrived in Cambodia to discuss expansion of economic relations between the two countries. (Rude Pravo [Prague].)

February 2 Czechoslovakia will deliver complete equipment for 8 hospitals in Ethiopia in 1961 and will send specialists to supervise their installation. The Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprise Kovo doubled exports to Ethiopia in 1960 (as compared to 1959), mostly looms, "Chirana" medical equipment, and footwear manufacturing equipment. (CTK [Prague].)

The Sapic Sugar Company in Syria (UAR) signed a contract with the Czechoslovak firm Technoexport for renovation and expansion of the sugar mill in Homs. The improvements will double the output of the mill, which will be able to process 1,250 tons of sugar beet in a 24-hour period. (CTK [Prague].)

February 4 A protocol on exchange of goods between Poland and Guinea in 1961 has been signed in Conakry. Poland will export motor vehicles, machinery, textiles, cement, radio receivers, and agricultural and food products. Guinea will send iron ore and various agricultural and food products. (Radio Warsaw.)

The M.S. Nanas, a 920 DWT merchant ship built in Gdynia for Indonesia sailed for Jakarta manned by a Polish crew. (Radio Warsaw.)

February 6 Romania and the Sudan signed the first trade agreement between the two countries on February 1. (Radio Bucharest.)

Jose Rodriguez, member of the national committee of the Cuban People's Socialist Party, arrived in Tirana to attend the fourth Party Congress of the Albanian Workers' (Communist) Party. He was met by officials of the Albanian Party. (Radio Tirana.)

February 8 Czechoslovak technicians are preparing plans for a bicycle factory for Cuba, using Czechoslovak equipment.

ment, to begin operating in March. The factory will produce 20,000 bicycles a year. (Radio Centro [Havana].)

An agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation between Cuba and Czechoslovakia was signed in Havana by the Education Ministers of the two countries. (CTK [Prague].)

February 11 A delegation from the Republic of Mali, headed by the State Secretary for Information Mama-dou Gologo, arrived in Prague to discuss cultural cooperation at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education and Culture. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

A Cuban delegation is visiting Czechoslovakia to study the health service facilities. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague].)

EASTERN EUROPE AT THE UN (continued from page 7)

lation. The statement was made by Wojciech Ketrzynski at a meeting of the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination. He said that the picture should not be made "too pessimistic or black," but that the problem could, if unchecked, reach "world-wide social manifestations due to present political conditions in the world." Later he attacked emigre organizations of German expellees from Eastern Europe and organizations of Hungarian exiles which he said had "close ties" with neo-Nazi organizations in West Germany. He maintained that the political aims of these organizations were the same as those of Nazism. He added that if the West German authorities were not inclined to accept such policies, they would not tolerate organizations "with strongly anti-semitic programs."

The International Atomic Energy Agency awarded a scientific research contract to the Institute of Nuclear Research of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague. This is the one-hundredth research contract awarded by the Agency to scientific and research institutions in member States since the beginning of the program in 1958. Under the new contract, the Prague Institute will undertake a research project financed by the Agency to ascertain physical-chemical requirements for the disposal of low-activity liquid radioactive waste in soil. The Agency during the past two years has financed four similar projects in Poland, three in Czechoslovakia and one in Hungary.

February 10 Czechoslovakia carried the Communist demand to have posts distributed according to political blocs into the World Health Organization. The proposal was made by Dr. Josef Plojhar of Czechoslovakia at the current WHO Assembly in New Delhi, India. He protested that four-fifths of the senior posts of the WHO were occupied by nationals of the United States and its allies. He also stated that Great Britain had the same number of posts as "all the neutral countries of Asia and Africa together." The WHO, a specialized agency of the UN, now has 104 members, including all the Soviet bloc countries.

February 13 In the wake of the official acknowledgment of Patrice Lumumba's death, the Security Council held a brief but dramatic session at which members deplored his death and then agreed to postpone discussion for two days to assess the situation. Soviet delegate Valerian A. Zorin attributed Lumumba's death solely to "the colonialists," and called for "a complete review of the positions of all peace-loving States." The East European delegations were seen converging on Ambassador Zorin as soon as he left the Council meeting to listen to his animated private briefing in the delegates' corridors. Later, the Polish mission to the UN issued a statement in which it echoed the principle Soviet charges but stopped short of blaming Hammarskjold personally for Lumumba's death. The Polish statement charged that the Tshombe and Mobutu forces in the Congo had been committing acts of "genocide against the population of the Baluba tribe."

SOVIET BLOC MILITARY STRENGTH

Recent figures for the number of men under arms in the Satellite countries, based on British estimates, have been published in the *Revue Militaire Générale* (Paris), January 1961. It is thought that the seven countries can mobilize 60 divisions with 800,000 men, plus 400,000 in paramilitary formations. The following table gives the approximate strength of their armies, with estimates of their populations in parentheses:

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| Albania | (1,560,000) | 21,000 men |
| Bulgaria | (7,629,254) | 100,000 " |
| Czechoslovakia | (13,581,186) | 150,000 " |
| East Germany | (17,280,000) | 65,000 " |
| Hungary | (9,977,870) | 75,000 " |
| Poland | (29,527,000) | 200,000 " |
| Romania | (18,360,000) | 200,000 " |

Their air forces total 2,900 planes, of which 80 percent are jet fighters. Naval forces have little importance and are only valuable for local defense.

"ALICE IN CLOUDLAND" (*Continued from page 13*)

are you, if I can ask? One of those social workers?" he was going on. "Some of them were here yesterday, scared away a few young men. As for me, as long as they sit quiet, don't smoke or tear the magazines, I let them all in. After all, this is a reading room!"

Before leaving, she scanned the room once more. A cluster of school girls, chirping in half-whispers over a small table, shot smiles towards a group of boys. This familiar sound relaxed Miss Alice. They'll never change, she thought warmly. Even in hell's ante-room they would still be carefree, playful and coquettish. The devil himself would just make them giggle. There's nothing more to be done here; I'm going to Szczawno.

She walked out of the gloomy station with a light, vacation-like step. The changing tides of good and bad moods, to which we succumb so readily, irritate us, but they are actually our blessing; she was thrilled by this sudden, inexplicable resurgence of hope. Contrary to her earlier plan, she decided not to telegraph the school. I've done all I could. Since I must wait, let them wait too.

* * *

Sophie was found on the third day, just before sunset. A policeman, black strap under his chin, brought the girl to Miss Plotnik's room. He asked for a receipt, just as if he were delivering a package. "Sophie, Sophie my little girl," Miss Plotnik burst into tears and put her arms around the girl. "How could you? Tell me, how could you?"

The girl's body remained rigid under her embrace, determined to be silent, proud, and yet Miss Plotnik felt certain that it was trembling with concealed relief; she wanted to be left alone with the girl as soon as possible. But the policeman had now become loquacious in describing his success.

"We sure keep an eye on those characters. Right away our detective noticed there's a new face in the reading room, meaning this here little lady, and that false stud—if you pardon the expression—Beautiful Ladislas," he added quickly, seeing that the teacher stiffened, "comes up to her and gives her some kind of long song-and-dance."

"Tell me, Sophie, tell me why?" whispered Miss Plotnik, still keeping the girl in her arms, pleased to have contact with her feverish body.

"And then we got the word that Beautiful Ladislas was seen in the reading room again, but the little miss was gone. She'd flown away." The teacher could feel Sophie's frail body stiffen, as if it wanted to protest. They both just stood there, motionless, waiting to be left alone.

"We keep close tabs on these creeps, you can bet on that. We know how to dig them up. Another one, too, was trying to rope her in for the night. What was he promising you, that smart-aleck?"

"We thank you very much. I never expected the police would be so efficient. . . . But you can see how tired she is," said Miss Alice quickly, surprised by the pace and tone of her own voice. Their benefactor was persistent; how could she make him understand he should go, without hurting his feelings? Because they actually were most helpful.



"I shall come to headquarters tomorrow, I want to thank you again." She glanced at the door, trying to transmit to him the idea of leaving. Alice Plotnik believed in telepathy and occasionally practiced hypnotic suggestion from the teacher's platform—with varied, often unsatisfactory results. This time it seemed however, that the guardian of peace had succumbed to her mental suggestion. He got up at last and gallantly clicked his heels. He gave Sophie a meaningful smile, evidently he too found her attractive; she was pretty, well developed, though delicate, and those eyes, which Miss Plotnik had often watched from her platform. Those gray eyes, large, moist, perpetually surprised—they were her undoing.

"You can barely stand on your feet," said Miss Plotnik once they were alone. A direct, matter-of-fact approach seemed to be the best way to handle this awkward situation. No serious discussions. No preaching. Fortunately she didn't need to pretend affection. "We won't go down to supper. I have crackers, a ham sandwich, apples. Do you want some? I will get you a lemonade downstairs, and you can wash up and then sleep, sleep!"

The girl, like a wooden mannequin, agreed to everything, stared dully straight ahead, and said nothing.

"What were you thinking of, girl?" asked Miss Plotnik when they were both in bed; she turned off the top light and waited for an answer in the semi-darkness. "Why did you run off without a word?"

She had to repeat her question three times.

"I didn't want to be expelled. I would rather simply. . . ."

whispered Sophie. "I was looking for work."

"But why here? At the end of the world? Do you know someone?"

"No. I saw an ad in the paper. I came here and . . ."

No questions, above all she had to refrain from asking questions which could bring on the dramatically unfinished "and." What downgrading experiences, what shocks have marked this stubbornly puckered forehead? What did he do to her? What did he want? Beautiful Ladislas! How she must have suffered. The teacher's imagination was being persistently invaded by a parade of horrors of the last forty-eight hours. Again there was Betty Boop, dancing madly on the hairy chest; the insolent Mike, whose flu could be cured only by a compress of female flesh, the busty Veronka, leaning lazily against the counter with a look that invites familiarity, the sour beer stench, the buzzing of a blue lamp in the reading room, and the large city map covered with colorful pins, whose heads were the shriveled heads of pimps. Brrr, pimps—why are they called that? Did he know that she is . . .? Now the girl must have peace and quiet, peace and quiet above all. Beautiful Ladislas, pins, brrrr. That night Eros and Psyche remained standing in their niche, they hadn't come up to the corridor but conscientiously continued to light up the stairway. Fake stud, brrr! What odd language these people use. And why do such words attach themselves to the memory like leeches? She tried to shake it off, but the fake stud kept returning and laughing at her loudly.

She shuddered once more, afraid that she might have a fever. Maybe she had caught the flu? An aspirin, a warm blanket . . . brrrr. She stretched out her arm and put her hand on the forehead of the girl next to her, who was at last sleeping soundly. At her touch, Sophie stirred and curled up voluptuously like a cat. Then she gave the sigh of a hurt child, and teacher Plotnik felt that having found the needle in the haystack had not really simplified the world. Everything seemed more involved now than it had been at the beginning of this affair. Only in fairy tales are problems solved rapidly and finally at the touch of a magic wand. Human affairs drag on for years. This proud girl had fallen asleep full of confidence, pleased that her rebellion proved useless and burned out so quickly. But, in reality, her long path of thorns had only just started. For a long time Miss Plotnik thought about her own youth, monotonous, saturated with the healthy smell of ordinary soap, rough with the roughness of coarse underwear. Her mouth felt dry. The young girl next to her did not yet realize that sooner or later everyone must enter into a labyrinth; except that today there is no Ariadne, and no one hands you a thread to find the way out. A human being is condemned to wonder. Oh Sophie, poor Sophie. Falling asleep, Miss Plotnik felt no satisfaction that, despite the principal's pessimism, she had been victorious in this strange, unfamiliar, cloudy world. She only felt a dull, tremendous exhaustion. Exhaustion is capable of extinguishing all happiness.

* * *

Only at first did it seem that there would be plenty of room. At the third stop, the train compartment filled up

to capacity, and after Wroclaw people were standing in the aisles.

Obediently, Sophie took the magazines, leafed through them quickly, stopping only to look at the pictures. Miss Plotnik observed her out of the corner of her eye. The girl behaved like an automaton: "Yes, ma'am, no ma'am, thank you ma'am." All on the surface, not one deeper accent, sighed the teacher. She would have preferred tears and complaints to this shallow indifference. Maybe it's the shock. She has enclosed herself in a protective shell which will crack later.

The monotonous clicking of the wheels put Sophie to sleep. Her head was nodding over *Przekroj* magazine, her eyelids closed. It was lucky that they had been able to get seats by the window. When Sophie's head fell onto her shoulder, Miss Plotnik picked up the scattered magazines and carefully studied the girl's face. She must have had several sleepless nights. Maybe she feels the need to sleep it all off. Something like a suggestion of color seemed to have come back to her cheeks.

Miss Plotnik realized suddenly that she was being pierced by acute curiosity. Was she at least in love with him? And what about the man himself? How had she met him? Someone should ask her about it. Her mother, Professor Kopacki, or perhaps Miss Alice herself, since it was she who had been entrusted with the chase? But would it be right to ask her? Probably so. After all, her life will have to be arranged somehow. If only for the baby's sake. Or maybe Sophie will shut herself off and refuse to talk?

Her attention was caught by the conversation of her neighbors; strange, how it blended with her own thoughts. Until then, she had paid no attention to the voices—one persuading, the other animated; both unpleasant in their tone, bitter and unrelenting. One or two of the words sounded to her as if she herself should be participating in the conversation.

She began to listen. The two women were now concluding, in complete agreement, their condemnation of someone else, using gestures to help express their thoughts.

"So I say to the old witch, has she already made up her mind? And she says: let her worry about it. I have enough troubles of my own."

"But the kid, what about the kid?"

The hefty woman moved deeper into her seat, squeezing against Miss Plotnik.

"What do any of them care about that! She'll give the brat away, or sell it, just to get back her freedom."

"Sometimes I wonder: where do they learn such things?"

"Don't you worry, dearie. The clinic will teach them. When they put a young girl in the same ward with those who've really been around, she'll sure get an education. Yes, yes, that's the way it goes."

It suddenly seemed to Miss Plotnik that the train compartment was crowded and unbearably hot. Her heart pounded loudly and unevenly, as always happens when one is greatly disturbed. It was a wonder that Sophie continued to sleep. Especially since three men by the door were also talking in loud voices. One of them had lighted a cigarette and was persistently staring at the girl. Lower-

ing his voice, he made some gross remarks to his companions. They all burst out laughing and looked Sophie over. Did it show on her face? Nonsense. It's just that her exhausted body had leaned against the window sill in such a way as to accentuate her breasts. After all, her breasts were not very large. Miss Plotnik squirmed in her seat, she would have liked to get up and throw her coat over the girl. But this would have only made them laugh that much more. Should I wake her? The teacher felt herself in a whirl, a sensation which had become familiar to her in the past few days. Wherever man lives, he is surrounded by furies that mock at his peace. Up until then, they had ignored teacher Plotnik, and so now they were trying to make up for their omission. Next to her, the two impossible females continued to gabble about experiences in maternity wards.

Miss Plotnik's discomfort had been noticed by the three amused men. Now three derisive stares were turned on her, appraising each detail with a boldness that she didn't dare interpret. But a wave of blood rushed to her head, making her cheeks revealingly red. She felt sweat pouring out of her, just as in the restaurant when she waited for her lemonade, just as in the hotel corridor filled with the pink light of Psyche and Eros.

Green mocking eyes leered at her over her neighbor's head. Through the jabber of the women next to her, she heard a sharp voice. "Yeah, such an old tid-bit can be tasty too, I'm telling you."

"You'd like to try, eh Max?"

She knew they meant her, and that all three were appraising her as they had appraised Sophie a moment ago. She was unhappy, overcome by the heat madly throbbing in her ears, confused, because, next to the thought that she should jump to her feet and begin shouting: How dare you! This is beastly, this is vulgar! I won't have it! . . . there seemed to be budding, somewhere at the very depth of her being, a bold and terrifying idea of an altogether different action: she could, for the first time in her life, pull up her sweater and cry out madly—Yes, yes, you are right! A tid-bit, an old tid-bit, a sugar-coated morsel!

She would never have thought such a desire could awaken in her. How terrible to have an accidentally encountered, arrogant male know more about you than you herself! With a painful thrust of his green eyes, he had stabbed Miss Alice at this, her most difficult Station of the Cross. It was useless to feel heroic. Heroism had faded. Luckily, the train was slowing down before a station, and one of the men got ready to leave, which distracted the attention of the others.

"You've been asleep," said Miss Alice to the girl who had raised her head and opened her eyes. "Come, let's eat something in the dining car. You've never been in a dining car before," she had regained an easy tone of happy excitement, which always came when she could show the young something interesting, something new. What a refreshing feeling!

It was pleasant in the dining car, everything hushed and smooth, the entire trip took on a different aspect: through the large windows the world looked wider and more

spacious, with more fresh air, more room for people and thoughts. And, most important, at the little table they were free of any neighbors.

"Did you rest, Sophie? We must start thinking of plans for you," said Miss Plotnik as warmly as she could. "What do you intend to do?"

The girl wrinkled her forehead and kept on examining her fingers which were resting on the tablecloth. "I just don't know. I don't know."

"You shouldn't talk like that. First of all, you mustn't run away from school. It's only a few months to graduation. Don't you understand that now it's more important for you than ever before? You must graduate!"

The girl maintained a stubborn silence. Her lips narrowed, she was lost in some difficult speculation, far away from Miss Alice and all her good advice.

"The school will try to help you. It's no use despairing, what's done is done. You can't afford to waste your life, you must become a real human being. You won't be able to come to class, I'm sure you understand that. But you can study by yourself to pass all the courses. And when is it due?"

The train, rattling and shaking, passed a small station. Bottles of orange pop, set in a protective frame on the table, swayed back and forth. Sophie apathetically turned her head toward the window and looked out at the passing fields. "After vacation. In September."

"You see, then you can do it. Isn't that right, Sophie?"

The waiter had brought the plates. He hesitated for a moment, looking first at one and then the other of his customers. He served Sophie first. Miss Plotnik is sensitive to such details. He shouldn't have done that, whether in error or as a minor insult, that can be so very painful. Was he, too, attracted by the girl? Or perhaps he sensed that new life was shaping inside her? But how would it be possible to sense such a thing? "Eat, Sophie. You will need a lot of strength," she urged warmly, but deep inside she was nursing bitter thoughts about her own life. Well, yes, she thought, looking at the passing rows of trees that occasionally opened a perspective inside the forest—it was not a question of age. He had served a woman first. A Woman—simply. Nothing more. But why worry so much about it? It wasn't worth it.

But there was no anger or bitterness in her thoughts. Only, she seemed to have become grayer and smaller and filled with the gnawing sense of her own insignificance, although she accepted it humbly. When the waiter came along with the dessert and was conspicuously trying to correct his previous error, she pushed the dish aside gently but firmly, so that he was forced to serve Sophie first. No one could penetrate teacher Plotnik's thoughts, thus no one could guess that in this gesture, aside from kindliness, there was also a hidden, unconscious tribute. This young girl who was just entering on her road to Calvary was more firmly planted in this world that was now rushing by outside the train windows than Miss Alice, although it was she who could tell so much about the world.

"You see, you are already looking much better, now that you have eaten."



"Thank you, ma'am."

"All right, all right, Sophie. And now tell me, dear, have you thought of what will become of the baby? You must talk about it with your mother. She knows everything."

The girl clenched her fists until the knuckles cracked. She drew back, trying to postpone the answer.

"I'll give him away," she said softly, her head lowered.

"Give 'it' away; it—neuter gender," corrected Miss Plotnik from habit. "But will you really give it away? Think, Sophie. After all, it's a child. Your child."

"People are looking for babies. Childless couples. They'll be happy, and he'll be better off."

"Oh, Sophie," whispered Miss Plotnik after a long moment of silence. She opened her purse nervously and searched for her handkerchief, because it seemed to her that this was an even more difficult moment than the coarse scrutiny of the green, mocking eyes in the train compartment, the unfriendly indifference of plump Veronka, or the obscene

convulsions of Betty Boop. She was returning empty-handed, as if her heroic chase after the misguided young creature had been a total waste. Heroism of the moment can provide fuel for memories that one later relives for oneself only, memories sweet as opiates. But this time it had all been for nothing—Principal Dukalski's sceptical tone of voice was telling the truth. Her only achievements were the superficial facts. The rest crumbled into dust. . . .

* * *

It was amazing how the younger generation always found out everything first. The teachers often joked that news of the latest fashions could be picked up from the coeds. But this applied also to more serious matters. Miss Plotnik hadn't even given a thorough account to Principal Dukalski after her return, and already it was common knowledge in class that Sophie Lagoda couldn't go home because her father would beat her to death. It had been decided at the latest faculty meeting. She won't attend class, so as not to demoralize . . . that's pretty good, isn't it? Though they'll let her graduate, you can be sure of that. As a matter of fact, she is good as has the diploma in her pocket, the lucky devil! What a time she had in Walbrzych, and that poor, funny history teacher had to drag her out of, you know. . . . Watch out! Here comes Plotnik!

Miss Alice entered the classroom with quick steps, carrying a pile of notebooks under her arm. Her sensitive ear caught the last words, mingled with giggles and squeals: "Have you heard? Plotnik found Sophie a husband in Walbrzych. Honest to God. I swear it!"

From her platform, Miss Plotnik looked at the faces, the dear faces: animated, listless, ambitious and playful, pimply and covered with the first contraband face powder, all glowing with concealed excitement. All planted in life firmer, deeper and more dangerously than she herself.

"You are cruel," said Alice Plotnik, after a long moment of silence, in a dead, small voice, "cruel like children, because. . . . Today we have much material to cover," she continued after a while in a different tone. "Let us recall how the Congress of Vienna changed the face of Europe."

(Translated by Barbara Vedder)

Drawings by Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz, Mieczyslaw Piotrowski, J. Cwiertnia and F. Baracz from POLAND (Warsaw), No. 10, 1960, No. 2, 1960, No. 3, 1958 and No. 5, 1959.

Men in the News



Svet v Obrazech (Prague), January 28, 1961

Frantisek Zupka

THE "KEYNOTE" SPEAKER at the national conference of brigades of Socialist labor held in Prague recently was Frantisek Zupka, the Communist boss of Czechoslovakia's four million trade union members. He is Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council (the governing body of the "Revolutionary Trade Union Movement," as the regime-dominated labor organization is called) and a member of the secretariat of the all-powerful Party Central Committee. As a professional Communist organizer whose particular "field" is labor, his life has followed a straight, if sometimes rocky, path to the lower peaks of the Communist pinnacle. He has shown himself consistently loyal to the Communist concept of the trade union; he has also been indefatigable in pressing Communist interests abroad, as a delegate to trade union congresses and as an active member of the Presidium (executive committee) of the Communist-sponsored World Federation of Trade Unions.

The primary function of the trade union in Czechoslovakia is to assist the State's economic program on the factory level, by mobilizing the workers to fulfill the assigned tasks. The union organizes work competitions and work pledges of all kinds, including the recent innovation of "brigades of Socialist labor"; it moves against waste, absenteeism, petty crime and other infractions of discipline. It also administers health and disability insurance, social security benefits, plant canteens and recreational projects. Since it is controlled by the Communist Party, which also controls the government and the economy, the union is not permitted to agitate against the employer for higher wages or better working conditions.

Zupka was born June 30, 1901, of Slovak parentage, in the Austrian border town of Marchegg. His father, a

miner, is said to have been a founding member of the Social Democratic Party in Budapest, banished to Austria for investigating strikes.

In 1904, Zupka's family moved to Bucharest where he went to elementary school. (His official biography claims that he was an excellent student who had to quit school at the age of 12 because further studies were only for the "rich.") Between 1913 and (probably) 1918, he worked as an apprentice lathe operator.

Zupka's early life was hunted and hazardous. In 1918, he joined the metal workers' trade union in Hungary where his family had moved, and entered Bela Kun's "Hungarian Communes." After the fall of Kun's Hungarian "Soviet Republic," he evidently crossed the border and disappeared, finally emerging in Slovakia about 1920. There he took a job with the State mining enterprises in Banska Stiavnica, and, according to his official biography, joined the left wing of the Social Democratic Party.

In May of 1921, he was active in the organization of a Communist Party cell in the village of Banska Bela. He was elected an official of the local, and later of the district, organization of the CP. In 1925 he became a member of the regional Party Committee in Zvolen. As a Party worker, he worked in "reformist"—i.e., non-revolutionary—trade unions in the Communist interest. (Trade unions at this period in Czechoslovakia were attached to various political parties.)

Beginning about 1929, he became an active strike organizer and Party agitator, harassed by the police and periodically jailed for short terms. In 1929, while employed in the Skoda works in Prague, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Prague Party organization and to the

Central Committee of the Red Trade Unions, the Communist trade union organization. He went to Moscow to attend a Party school, probably in 1931-32.

In 1932 he became head of the Communist metal worker's union in Slovakia. He was later forced to flee the police and live as a fugitive in Prague, where, under a cover name, he worked as a Party instructor in various machine plants, notably the CKD enterprise in Prague-Vysocany.

Zupka was elected to Parliament in May 1935, and became First Secretary of the Red Trade Unions (whose chairman then was Antonin Zapotocky, later to become Zupka's predecessor as boss of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and Premier and finally President of Czechoslovakia).

In the fall of 1938 the Czechoslovak government (by then under the strong influence of Nazi Germany as a result of the Munich conference) outlawed the Communist Party; in January 1939, Zupka was deprived of his seat in Parliament; on March 16, 1939, the day after Nazi troops marched into Czechoslovakia, he was arrested. He was to spend a total of 74 months in prisons and concentration camps: Dachau, Gross Rosen, Mauthausen, Sachsenhausen.

After the war Zupka's career took a new turn. His first official post was as chairman of the Slovak Trade Unions (May 1945-June 1950), but after the Communist coup in 1948 he rapidly acquired other government and Party posts: Slovak Commissioner of Labor and Social Welfare (1948-1950), member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (since 1949), member of the Czechoslovak National Assembly [puppet Parliament] where he has served on the foreign relations committee (May 1948 until now), and first deputy chairman (1948), then chairman (1950) of the Central Trade Union Council. Except for a two-year interregnum, he has held this position until now.

Between 1952 and 1954 Zupka suffered a minor eclipse. This was primarily a consequence of the crisis inside the Czechoslovak trade union organization, which was squeezed between the hard demands of the government during the First Five Year Plan and the recalcitrance and discontent of the workers. Zupka was relieved of his post in July 1952. He was supplanted by Gustav Kliment, who fell from office soon after the Pilsen riots in June 1953. His successor was Josef Tesla, a Party hack with the title of First Secretary, who sought to reimpose control over the workers by harsh punitive measures; but his policy was not successful and Zupka was restored to the post of Chairman in May 1955.

Since then Zupka's course has been externally placid. At the RTUM plenum in April 1956 he was assailed by one speaker for "promoting the cult of his own personality"; but his position was unjarred, and since then it seems to have solidified. Within the Party machine he belongs, reputedly, to the so-called Novotny group (a group, not a specifically political faction, of younger Party bureaucrats). But the strength of his position, his value to the regime, rest on his ability and willingness to cater to the regime's needs as the master of its trade union organization.

SCHOLARS RETURN

Four Brazilian students who had received scholarships in Prague returned recently after less than six months, disgusted at the treatment given them by the Czechoslovak authorities. As reported in the Paris daily *Le Figaro* of January 31, it was a story of disenchantment. All four had received scholarships from the International Students' Union promising them free educations in their specialized fields for periods of six to eight years. This was part of the Soviet bloc's much-publicized program of aid to underdeveloped countries.

Ivan Mattos, 22, was a music student. Luiz da Silva, 23, and Renaldo Rodriguez, 21, both sympathetic to Communism, were to study film-making and economics. Serge Montero, 23, a student of geology, discovered when he arrived in Prague that the Czech school of geology had just been closed for a complete overhaul in plant and teaching methods. They were sequestered 160 kilometers from the capital in the village of Marianske Lazne with other students from Africa and Latin America. Immediately, they began to study the Czech language.

To be disabused of the propagandist's version of Czechoslovakia was disheartening. As Rodriguez put it: "It was a slow process based on observing things at school, in the village, throughout the country. This process was due to the repeated shock of the contrasts between marvels which had been described to us and reality. In Brazil, the word was: 'Technique is at the service of the people,' and we naturally imagined that the people were happy. Instead, we found people working 10 hours a day and, moreover, often obliged to have two jobs in order to feed one family.... People seemed dissatisfied and if one spoke of Communism they remained silent, giving the impression that they didn't want the question to be raised."

When the four Brazilians decided to leave and asked for an exit visa, the officials at the Ministry of Education asked why they wanted to go. Their reply: "Because we couldn't adapt to life here." But a verbal explanation was not enough. The students were forced to put their request into writing. Four reasons were cited—lack of material conditions under which they could profitably study; lack of freedom; disenchantment with conditions in Czechoslovakia; and the certainty that their requests would not be acted upon by university authorities. On receipt of this document the four Brazilians were given 24 hours to leave the country.

Even their departure was marred by unpleasant incidents. Two of them were badly roughed up by fellow Brazilian students who were Party members, and who left them with this warning as they boarded the train for Munich: "Make no declaration in the West about your stay in Czechoslovakia."

Current Developments

INTERNATIONAL: *Albanian Party Congress hears speeches reflecting the Chinese viewpoint on world affairs (p. 47).*

Poland's Gomulka adds his voice to the Communist attacks on Yugoslav "revisionism" (p. 38).

Polish press declares that closer relations with West Germany will depend on the German attitude toward the Oder-Neisse boundary (p. 38).

POLITICAL: *Hungarian Party shows signs of ideological cleavage (p. 43).*

ECONOMIC: *Bulgaria claims to have fulfilled its Five Year Plan in three years (p. 46).*

Czechoslovakia reports industrial production rose 11.9 percent in 1960 (p. 42).
Hungary claims its Three Year Plan a success (p. 44).

AREAWIDE

East German Credits To Poland

Another bloc of investment credits will move between East European capitals as a result of a Polish-East German accord signed in Warsaw on January 18. East Germany will grant Poland credits valued at 57.8 million "new rubles" (roughly \$64.2 million) to help finance construction of Poland's part of the Soviet oil pipeline network reaching into Eastern Europe.

The pipeline, sponsored by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, will upon completion carry Soviet oil from the Urals through a southern branch into Czechoslovakia and Hungary and through another branch into Poland and East Germany. Each country will finance and own its sector of the line. Poland has lagged seriously behind schedule in building its portion due to lack of investment funds and materials; while the East Germans, who are chronically short of fuels, have been impatient for the pipeline to reach their border.

According to the recent agreement, part of the credits will be used to aid Poland with the construction cost while another portion will take the form of pipe and installations for pumping stations. Specifically, East Germany agreed to supply all the pipe needed for the line from its border to the Polish city of Plock northwest of Warsaw, but from there to the Soviet border it will furnish only part of the material required. The credits, which carry an annual interest charge of 1.5 percent, are to be repaid over a ten-year

period beginning on the date when the pipeline goes into operation. They are to be repaid out of the proceeds which Poland receives from East Germany for the transport of petroleum.

This agreement marks the second within a month providing for the flow of investment credits into Poland from the more industrialized countries of Eastern Europe. On January 9, Czechoslovakia extended 112.5 million "new rubles" (about \$125 million) to help develop Poland's copper industry. (See *East Europe*, February, p. 33.)

Reactions To Soviet Agricultural Plenum

The East European capitals reacted in chorus to the hectic Soviet Central Committee plenum in mid-January which, under Khrushchev's prodding and heckling, revealed problems of mismanagement and backwardness in the agrarian sector with an almost unprecedented measure of frankness. The press carefully avoided finding in his remarks any evidence of weakness in Soviet agriculture.

Only in Bulgaria were the plenum's proceedings published in full, but the press refrained from any serious discussion of them. In Hungary, where the collectivization drive is now in its final phase, the public media omitted anything which might tend to discredit the collective farm system in the eyes of their audience, emphasizing instead the "free and open" discussion and the "non-authoritarian" approach to problems. Czechoslovakia published the first and final sections of Khrushchev's closing speech and only small excerpts from the other proceedings; the plenum was interpreted as showing a "powerful upsurge of Soviet agriculture." The Polish press was even more reticent on the

subject. Short excerpts, amounting to no more than three-quarters of a newspaper page, were published in the Party daily *Trybuna Ludu*, January 23. Critical passages were carefully toned down, and only favorable remarks were quoted directly.

Yugoslav-Polish Relations Shaken

Belgrade did not hide its resentment at recent Soviet and Polish criticisms of "Yugoslav revisionism." An article in the Soviet magazine *Soviet Culture*, February 2, described "contemporary revisionism" as the "opposition to the entire Socialist way of life" and castigated the Yugoslav Communists for terming as "nonexistent" the "spiritual culture in the USSR." This brought forth the sharp comment from Radio Belgrade, of the same day, that "it is impossible to adopt the opinion that the attacks on Yugoslavia in the ideological and theoretical field do not affect relations."

The Yugoslav Party organ *Borba* (Belgrade), January 28, was also quick to answer the criticism of "Yugoslav revisionism" uttered by Polish Party First Secretary Gomulka at the Polish Party Central Committee Plenum, January 20-21 (see below). Gomulka's statement that the Yugoslav Communists have found themselves "outside the world Communist movement" was disputed, and was accompanied by the pointed question: "Did Gomulka ever consider himself 'outside the world Communist movement' when he was serving his prison term [1951-55]?" Reminded *Borba*: "We never believed that Gomulka really did."

The banning of 15 Yugoslav books by Czechoslovakia at an exhibition in Bratislava was cited by *Borba*, January 31, as proof that "the truth about successes in Yugoslavia is feared in Czechoslovakia."

Albanian Diatribes Go On

As usual, the greatest concentration of anti-Yugoslav propaganda emanated from Albania. Attacks on Belgrade were forthcoming on the Albanian national holiday (see below), but standard fare was an article in the Tirana Party organ *Zeri i Popullit*, January 20, which included the following samples of anti-Yugoslav venom:

"The Yugoslav leaders betrayed Marxism-Leninism long ago. . . . Tito's Yugoslavia is nothing more than a camouflaged American *place d'armes* in the Balkans. . . . The so-called neutrality of the Titoist clique serves the most

DEATH PENALTY

A citizen of Romania who has at any time belonged to a "fascist organization" may be given the death penalty if he is caught holding, selling or acquiring military arms or ammunition without proper authority. The law, passed last year, is retroactive and has gone unpublicized. (*Collection of Laws, Decrees and Regulations*, July 1-August 31, 1960, published in Bucharest, December 1960.)



Shoemaker Adenauer to Uncle Sam, who is complaining about the weakness of the dollar: "What will you give me for covering that hole?"

Urzica (Bucharest), December 31, 1960

reactionary and warlike imperialist circles and divides the forces of peace, and further, there can be nothing in common between the peaceful foreign policy of the Socialist countries and that of the Tito clique. . . . Tito carries on his work to divide and undermine the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement. His special attacks on Albania and China are aimed at the same goal. . . . It is necessary to denounce carefully and mercilessly the maneuvers of the Yugoslav revisionists, who under the pretext of fighting 'dogmatism' attack Marxism-Leninism and under the pretext of fighting 'leftist' deviationism deny the revolution; and under the pretext of fighting against 'sectarianism' and for a 'flexible' policy, they preach unprincipled reconciliation with the middle class, and capitulate before imperialism."

To these accusations, Belgrade wearily replied: "Albania is the only country in southeast Europe which does not maintain normal relations with its neighbors and which constantly pursues the policy of insulting Yugoslavia and poisoning the atmosphere of the Balkans. . . . Those aspects of international relations which give the gravest and blackest picture of the contemporary world are the constant refrain of nearly all statements and articles in Albania and China." (*Politika* [Belgrade], January 26.)

Bulgarian Relations Calm

Warmer relations now characterize the policies of Yugoslavia and its once-violent opponent Bulgaria. During January, a Bulgarian National Peace Committee visited Yugo-

slavia to discuss "peaceful coexistence," a mixed border commission met in harmony, and a Bulgarian cultural delegation arrived in Belgrade in order to sign a pact for cultural collaboration in 1961-62.

POLAND

Bonn Under Fire

Two trips to Poland by the general manager of the West German Krupp industrial complex, Berthold Beitz, in December and January, have led to speculation that closer relations between Poland and West Germany may be established. The official organ of the Polish Party denied this by citing the reported intransigence of West German Chancellor Adenauer in recognizing the Oder-Neisse line as definitive. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), February 5, quoted the Chancellor as saying: "The German eastern territories will not be forgotten because the historic hour for them will yet arrive. But the reconstruction of the German State in its historic extent will be spread over a long period." In view of these words, said the paper, "it would be difficult to imagine the role of an ambassador of the German Federal Republic, who would have to wait in our capital for the historic hour." Until the West German government takes a more realistic attitude, the journal concluded, there was no hope of establishing normal diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Gomulka Attacks Yugoslavs

At the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee, held in Warsaw, January 20-21, Polish Party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka, in reporting on the December Moscow Conference of Communist Parties, attacked by name "Yugoslav revisionism." Such criticism was quite unexpected coming from the Polish Party leader, since Warsaw has always been one of the least virulent of the Soviet bloc in castigating the ideological deviations of the Yugoslavs.

After stating that "revisionism, right-wing revisionism, which took advantage of the criticism during the period of the cult of the individual to attack fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism . . . has been smashed ideologically," Gomulka cited the League of Yugoslav Communists "which opposed its revisionist program to the 1957 Moscow Declaration" as meeting with "universal and high-minded criticism from all the Communist and workers' Parties and has found itself outside the world Communist movement." He termed "revisionism" the hope of "the imperialist circles in the West" to disarm the Communist movement and weaken the "cohesion of the Socialist camp." Ideological vigilance against "revisionism" was particularly important "because revisionism takes its vitality from social environments which are alien to Socialism and borrows its ideas from the arsenal of the social democratic movement and of bourgeois propaganda directed against the Socialist world and the revolutionary movement of the working class." (For Yugoslav reaction, see above.)

Gomulka did not forget to berate "dogmatism" which could become "the main danger at some stage or other of the development of individual Parties." But ideologically he stressed the "independence" of each Party to follow its own path to "Socialism" under the "general principles . . . resulting from international experience tested by history."

"Each Party," he said, "fixes its own political line, applying these general rules to the specific historical conditions and specific peculiarities of its country. The method of proper solution of the internal political, social, and economic tasks by the Parties in various countries are bound to contain many traits specific to the given country and are bound to differ with each other in many respects. . . .

"At the same time, the [Moscow] conference laid special stress on the need for total uniformity of strategy and for strictly agreed-upon tactics employed by all Communist and workers' Parties in the international arena with regard to imperialism." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], January 22.)

Plenum Confirms Albrecht Post

Nominated to head the Ministry of Finance, Jerzy Albrecht was eliminated from his duties as a Secretary of the Party Central Committee. Such a move is customary in order to keep separate Party and governmental functions, and should not be interpreted as a sign that he has lost favor with the regime. He replaced Tadeusz Dietrich, who died last June.

East-West Conference

Parliamentarians from 15 European nations met in Warsaw, February 3-5, to discuss European security and disarmament. The conclusions reached called for disarmament "carried out according to definite stages," the participation of Communist China in any such discussions, and the abolition of nuclear and conventional weapons as well as permanent and mobile bases from which they can be used. Among the recommendations touching on European security were the demand for formal recognition of all "existing international borders," and the elimination of nuclear weapons from any German army. The principle of "peaceful coexistence" was hailed as a means of strengthening the United Nations by a "renunciation of war as a means of furthering national policy." (*Tass* [Moscow], February 6.)

Catholic Leader Criticizes Regime

Stanislaw Stomma, leader of the Catholic Znak group in parliament, delivered a speech critical of Church-State relations during a debate on the budget. "The outlook is not optimistic," Stomma said. "We know there is an intensified offensive by the laity, and mounting difficulties . . . for the Church. Church-State relations are not satisfactory. Our hearts are filled with anxiety. But we are, and will remain, advocates of a reasonable *modus vivendi*, indeed, advocates of cooperation in the interest of Poland."

Specifically, Stomma attacked a booklet written by the deputy chief of the Party Central Committee propaganda



Four Polish film starlets. Left to right, Hanka Fedorowicz, Zofia Merle, Katarzyna Karska and Ania Prucnal.

ITD (Warsaw), No. 12/13, 1960

department, characterizing it as a "deplorable attempt to put the Church and Catholicism in a conservative position—or, plainly speaking—to expose the Church to stupefaction." Stomma complained that new trends in Catholicism were being ignored although the Znak group does not try to undervalue the "good trends within the Socialist camp." (Tygodnik Powszechny [Warsaw], January 8.)

Tax on Pax

The Polish regime has decided to impose a tax on the Stalinist pseudo-Catholic Pax association, depriving it of its privileged position as compared with other Catholic groups, including the Church itself. Pax will be taxed like any other social enterprise, and the taxation, retroactive to January 1, will cost the association tens of millions of zloty per year. (The New York Times, February 12.) Headed by Boleslaw Piasecki, Pax was considered one of Poland's richest organizations.

Nevertheless, Western sources reported that the Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka has agreed to increase the representation of Pax in the Polish parliament where it now holds one seat. There have also been rumors recently that Piasecki will be dismissed as chief of Pax. During the 1956 Polish "Revolution," Piasecki was identified with those who opposed Gomulka, as well as being known for his pre-war fascist activities and anti-Semitism. (See *East Europe*, January, pp. 24-25 for a biography of Piasecki.)

Another "Economic Crime" Trial Opens

A new trial spotlighting the government's campaign against theft, embezzlement and misappropriation of "Socialist property" started in Warsaw on January 20. (See *East Europe*, November 1960, p. 42.) Eighteen officials and employees of the Warsaw zinc plant, including "virtually the entire management," have been indicted on charges of "action detrimental to the enterprise and with causing losses amounting to more than 700,000 zloty."

Among the accusations levied against the defendants, headed by the plant's director Jan Cichocki, were that they paid prize money to themselves out of State funds and drew wages from fictitious jobs. These "serious abuses" were said to have been uncovered as a result of an audit carried out under the aegis of the Ministry of Heavy Industry. According to Radio Warsaw, January 21, the trial was expected to last until mid-February.

Press Celebration

The 300th anniversary of the Polish press was celebrated in Warsaw on January 30. At a large gathering attended by top government and Party officials and journalists from the other Communist regimes, several score Polish journalists were decorated by the State. Among those so honored was Mieczyslaw Rakowski, former editor of the weekly *Polityka*; as chairman of the Journalists' Union, he was the main speaker. The honors accorded him once again confirmed reports that he has been restored to favor with the Party after leaving the helm of *Polityka* last December. (Trybuna Ludu [Warsaw], January 30.)

Polytechnical Education To Be Expanded

The Party Politburo at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee, held in Warsaw, January 20-21, continued to spell out the school reform plan to increase polytechnical education—academic studies combined with practical training. The reform is to be completed by 1969. The basic changes include: extension of studies by one year in the primary school (from 7 to 8 years); reorganization of programs and textbooks (46 percent of study time devoted to mathematics and natural sciences, 38 percent to the humanities, 16 percent to physical education and other related subjects); introduction into the high school curriculum of Marxist philosophy; expansion of vocational education, especially in agriculture.

In discussing the question of religious instruction in the

schools (which has not been abolished officially, though in practice, few schools offer such instruction), the Politburo report indicated that religious training in State schools would soon be openly abandoned: "The State considers religion as a private affair of the citizens. State authorities do not make it difficult for parents to have their children instructed in the rudiments of religion. But it is in the interest of all parents, believers and nonbelievers alike, that these children be instructed in religion outside the school." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], January 21.)

Gomulka Supports Private Crafts

Measures to encourage private craftsmen were announced by Party leader Gomulka in an address on February 6. Along with preferential taxes for craftsmen who provide services, there are to be tax rebates for those who train apprentices and young craftsmen. Compared to the 40,000 apprentices undergoing training in 1960, the number in 1965 must be 90,000, Gomulka said. Credit facilities will also be expanded, and the State will take steps to improve the supply of materials.

Gomulka stated that there were now about 147,000 private craftsmen's enterprises in Poland, employing about 240,000 people; he estimated the value of the production and services of these craftsmen during 1960 at 700 billion *zloty*. Since 1956, he said, the number of workshops has increased by 53 percent, and the persons employed in them by 76 percent.

The new move stems from a desire to correct the nagging shortage of services in Poland. Gomulka told the craftsmen

that they must give up the production of goods which are also produced by State-run industry. "But the demand for services, which is not now fully satisfied, will increase." He estimated that by 1965 the value of services rendered by private craftsmen would increase by about 130 percent. (PAP, February 6.)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Conference of Labor Brigades

Frantisek Zupka, chairman of the Trade Union Council, and Antonin Novotny, Party First Secretary, were the main speakers at a national conference of Socialist Labor Brigades (competitive teams of workers which are pledged to step up output), held in Prague, January 19-21. Zupka hailed the growth of the brigades, citing the fact that in 1958 the first two teams were formed, but that now there were as many as 34,414 throughout the country. He urged the brigades to set higher targets than those fixed in the third Five Year Plan and to recruit new brigades among the agricultural workers. (See also *Men In The News*, p. 34.)

Novotny in his address was highly critical of office-holders padding their reports, as well as the unwillingness of some enterprises to fulfill their targets a year or more earlier than scheduled. He warned: "Tricks and paper reports will fail to supply us with milk, meat or eggs." Now, at the beginning of the third Five Year Plan, Novotny stressed

WHITE MADNESS

A recent outburst of hypertension in Poland's new aristocracy, as reported by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), on February 3:

"Heretofore, the life of director X had been calm and peaceful. He never suspected that that innocent little delivery of lovely, white telephones would turn out to be the cause of so many misadventures.

"And the whole thing is the fault of the Minister of Communications. Because, after all, how can you send just 40 white telephones to such an important city as B? There are many more than 40 people in B. who are deeply convinced that their professional standing and social position entitles them to receive that distinctive white telephone.

"And so, director X has begun to look like his own shadow. He avoids his friends. He has lost his appetite. He has horrible nightmares in which, every night, a different local dignitary appears demanding a white telephone and threatening the director with the most terrible revenge imaginable.

"The city began to boil. All available telephones were pressed into service—the black ones. The director was simply deluged with calls, not only from all the more important city notables, but also—and worse—

from their better halves. The possession of a white telephone suddenly became a matter of honor, ambition, prestige and so-called 'meaning.' It decided whether or not one was to be 'important.'

"A special commission was established composed of representatives of the most honorable institutions and offices in the city. After several hours of fruitful discussion, when the demands of all the commission members had been satisfied, there remained for distribution only one white symbol of dignity. The debate concerning its allocation is still going on. Nevertheless, it is impossible to conceal the fact that a considerable number of the local notables did not receive the white insignia.

"We have been informed by circles close to the local personages that several wives have threatened divorce. A number of representatives from both levels—those who drive the 'Warsaws' [Polish-made cars] and those who drive the 'Volgas' [Russian-made cars] have departed on business trips to a certain Ministry.

"P.S. It is said that the department head responsible for the distribution of the white telephones has left on a long business trip in an unknown direction. The saddest part of this whole miserable story is . . . that it's true."

the necessity for all factories and collective farms to practice "strict economy." A "rigid accounting" must be enforced, particularly in the cases of those enterprises which have gone beyond the fixed targets, and he concluded: "Damage to society caused by recklessness, sluggishness, and individual irresponsibility must not be allowed." (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], January 20.)

New "Model Statute" for Collectives

Collective farmers will have a new "model statute" to guide their activities after the Fifth Congress of Agricultural Collectives slated for March. A draft of the new statute is now being distributed throughout the countryside for discussion and suggestions by the collective farm members. According to *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 18, the old statute is outmoded due to the "many progressive changes" which have taken place in the countryside since the last Congress, two years ago. The chief aim, the paper said, is to achieve a "substantial turn" in the rate of development of the rural economy where 87 percent of the agricultural land is now encompassed by the "Socialist sector."

"Democratic centralism" was said to be the basic principle upon which social relations will be regulated under the new law. Stress is placed on greater initiative on the part of the collectives, more specialization, better work organization, advanced methods of remuneration, and improved administration. A number of important changes are envisaged, and the Party organ argued, therefore, that it is essential for all collective farmers to get acquainted with the draft and add their comments.

"However, not in all the collectives have the leadership and the members attached the deserved importance to these important documents," it went on. In some cases, the newspaper said, only the management of the farms have reviewed the material, and in other cases not enough time has been allowed for discussion. Local Party functionaries were charged with the responsibility for seeing that the draft statute is given the widest possible appraisal before the coming Congress convenes.

Trouble in East Slovakia

Progress in "building Socialism" is not going well in the eastern region of Slovakia, and the "shortcomings" involved were thought by the Party's Politburo serious enough to be made the target of a special resolution recently. This relatively underdeveloped part of the country has been given especially difficult and important tasks during the Third Five Year Plan (1961-65). Its industry is slated to grow by 84 percent over 1960 as compared with a national average of 56 percent, and the corresponding figures for agriculture are 27.6 and 22.8 percent.

Although the Politburo's resolution was not published, it was the exclusive subject of discussion at a meeting of the Regional Committee of the Party for East Slovakia, January 21. Reporting on the session the following day, *Rude Pravo* (Prague) said the document pointed out "errors and shortcomings in the work of the Party and



A campus scene at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, founded in 1364 by King Kazimierz the Great.

Poland (Warsaw), No. 12, 1960

the national committees in East Slovakia and has subjected them to a profound and frank criticism." While the press did not go into specifics, it stated that the role of agricultural production had been "underrated," and that "an incorrect attitude on the part of the national committees and . . . Party organs toward suggestions and complaints made by working people was noticed."

The chief concern, however, was over the construction of the huge East Slovak iron and steel complex at Kosice which, it is said, will rank among the ten largest plants of its kind in the world. This came to light at a two-day national conference of organizations and enterprises connected with its construction, January 26-27. Describing the project as "one of the most important tasks of the Plan," Deputy Premier Jaromir Dolansky said that construction was being handicapped by what he termed "certain serious shortcomings." Referring to the unpublished resolution, Dolansky said that "the Politburo, through its decision, directed the attention of the Party, trade unions, youth organizations, as well as all enterprises concerned, to the tasks connected with the construction, and stressed the duty to fulfill these tasks and supervise their implementation." *Rude Pravo*, January 27, said Dolansky emphasized to the conferees that the Politburo's decision "constitutes law."

The depth of the concern over the building of this project was underscored by an announcement that soldiers will

be brought in to help. Radio Prague, January 16, reported that the command of the railway engineers unit had pledged to dig 140,000 cubic meters of soil and lay 35 kilometers of railway line between April and August.

1960 Plan Fulfillment

The State Statistical Office has proclaimed 1960 as the most successful year of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-60) in its latest annual report on the performance of the economy. The plan for gross production was fulfilled by 101.2 percent. Industry achieved a record 11.7 percent increase in output—as compared with 10.9 in 1959—with capital goods growing by 13.1 percent and consumer goods by 9.6 percent over the 1959 levels. Agriculture registered a 7 percent expansion, according to preliminary data, pulling out of the rut in which it has been stagnating for several years. On the negative side, the State Statistical Office took note only of a slight underfulfillment in metallurgy and in brick production. Output from the furnaces, steel-

works and rolling mills was “a few tenths of one percent below fulfillment”; the brickyards, which were the worst, fulfilled their plans by only 92 percent. One of the most successful branches was machine-building, which now claims 33.7 percent of the total volume of industrial production. However, despite its progress, most of the 120 national enterprises which failed to meet their production quotas in 1960 belonged to this branch. The most discouraging result for the authorities was the poor showing made by labor productivity. Instead of the 7.3 percent planned, labor productivity in industry rose by 6.9 percent and accounted for only 62 percent of total industrial growth rather than the huge 97 percent anticipated.

Production figures for 1960 were given as follows (percentage increases over 1959, where available, are in parentheses): electric power, 24.4 billion kwh (11.7); hard coal, 26.4 million tons; soft coal, 55.0 million tons; steel, 6,768,000 tons (10.3); pig iron, 4,495,000 tons (10.6); rolled material, 4.5 million tons; sulfuric acid, 553,000 tons; cement, 5,051,000 tons (6.5); motorcycles, 160,072 (5.8); automobiles, 56,211 (11.1); trucks, 16,000; tractors, 32,491; window glass, 29.1 million meters; television sets, 262,896 (33.7); refrigerators, 132,421 (27.7); footwear, 92.9 million pairs (5.5); cotton fabrics, 445 million meters.

The recovery of agriculture, which last year dipped 1.4 percent below the 1958 level, was largely achieved by a 12 percent increase in plant production—in contrast to 1959 when this branch fell by 4.5 percent. The best results were attained in grains and sugarbeets. Animal production increased by 1.2 percent. Compared with 1959, the pace of collectivization slowed down considerably, although the process is nearly completed: 87.4 percent of total farmland now belongs to the “Socialist sector” with 4.9 million hectares in the collective farms and 1.1 million hectares in State farms.

One irregular feature of the Plan fulfillment was a decline in the total volume of investment in the national economy as compared with 1959. Last year this total came to 45.4 billion koruny—a 15.6 percent increase over the previous year—while in 1960 it amounted to only 43 billion koruny. Foreign trade fulfilled its targets for the year, attaining a turnover 12.6 percent larger than in 1959. Average monthly wages were said to have increased by about 3 percent, and a shorter work week—to 42 hours for normal occupations and to 40 hours for underground work in the mines—was extended to 132,000 workers in 87 factories and enterprises.

In Slovakia, the plan for gross industrial output was fulfilled by 101.3 percent; production grew by 17 percent with the capital goods sector expanding its output by 18 percent and the consumer sector by 15 percent over the 1959 levels. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], February 8.)

1961 Budget

The National Assembly approved a State Budget for 1961 calling for an increase of roughly 8.5 percent in both revenue and expenditure, or approximately the same percentage rise as last year. The published figures of Finance



Rehearsing for the annual ball of Czechoslovak journalists at the cultural center in Prague.

Svet v Obrazech (Prague), January 7, 1961



She: "Why didn't I marry a plumber?"

He: "Before you moved into this new building you should have married a whole crew of repairmen."

Dikobraz (Prague), January 12, 1961

Minister Julius Duris's report to the Assembly delegates on January 18 were sparse in detail, but the main items compare with the planned balance sheet in 1960 as follows (in billions of koruny):

| | 1960 | 1961 |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Revenue | 103.6 | 112.5 |
| Turnover tax | 46.2 | 47.4 |
| Profits of industry | 19.3 | 24.6 |
| Direct taxes | 11.3 | 11.8 |
| Others | 26.8 | 28.7 |
| Expenditure | 103.4 | 111.9 |
| National economy | 51.3 | 57.2 |
| Social and cultural | 40.3 | 42.4 |
| Defense | 8.8 | 9.5 |
| Administration | 3.0 | 2.7 |
| Surplus | 0.2 | 0.6 |

The most significant item in the budget, expenditure in the national economy—which contains the State's outlay for investment purposes—is slated to rise 11.9 percent over 1960, again roughly the same percentage increase as was registered in last year's budget. It suggests a continuation of the economic speed-up that began in 1959. As in 1960, revenue from enterprise profits, which will increase by 28.5 over last year, is to assume a larger share of the total intake of funds. Direct taxes, the bulk of which is accounted for by taxes on wages, will contribute 10.5 percent of total

revenue as compared with 11.9 percent at the start of the Second Five Year Plan (1956-60), according to Finance Minister Duris.

The national committees will be allotted 31 percent of the total State Budget during the coming year. (*Rude Pravo* [Prague], January 19.)

Appeal for Conserving Metal

An urgent appeal for better utilization of metals was issued by the Party Central Committee during January. According to *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 17, in order to increase the production of iron and steel, rolled goods and other metallurgical products during the Third Five Year Plan (1961-65) by the slated amounts, substantial reductions must occur in the overhead costs of industrial enterprises. The target during the Plan is to cut production costs by an average of 2.6 percent annually, and of this "at least 1.7 percent" must be accounted for by savings in the use of raw material, especially metals. "This is a high but realistic target," said the Party daily.

On January 18, *Rude Pravo* reported that metal conservation had been made the subject of special conferences and "ten-minute discussions" in all plants and enterprises, and that printed statements of approval and pledges were being signed by "model workers." The CC grounded its appeal in the requirements of "peaceful competition with the most advanced capitalist nations."

HUNGARY

Questioning

Two recent articles in the official Party organ reveal hints of ideological divergences. The discussion centered around the question of "bourgeois humanitarianism." Ferenc Brody in *Nepszabadság* (Budapest), January 8, while condemning "fake humanitarianism," maintained that "there is a progressive bourgeois humanitarianism which we can consider our ally." Though there are those "who assert that Communism cannot be humanitarian because it advocates class struggle and tolerates violence. . . . Communists have never used violence for its own sake." The building of Communism is not seen as an end in itself, but as a means of creating a better life for man. Since this is the prime aim of Communism, it follows that the Communists are "anti-imperialistic, democratic and peace loving." In this struggle the Party must rely not only on "the forces of the revolutionary workers' movement, but also on the progressive elements of the bourgeoisie."

This thesis was interpreted by another writer, Adam Wirth, in an article published January 15, as an example of "revisionist thinking." Although he agreed that in the "peace movement" Communists cooperate with the members of the bourgeoisie who are "partisans of peace," he stressed that "this in no way excludes a Marxist criticism of the ideologies which they represent." In other words,

TWENTY CRIMES A DAY

"Today in Hungary hooliganism is merely a symptom, the symptom of the social and moral changes moving from the old to the new. Hooliganism characterizes only some thousands of the youth and thus cannot be called an urgent social problem."

"Yet hooliganism might involuntarily be made into a problem as a result of amateurish sensation hunting. The interesting and colorful nature of this subject and its other specific characteristics provide abundant opportunities for this. Hooliganism is a truly urgent social problem in the West and under capitalism, which is in the process of disintegrating and which contaminates a majority of its youth by its very existence. . . ."

"Today the number of young people under 20 in Hungary is 3.5 million. Of these an average of 600 per month undergo criminal procedure for minor or major crimes. This ratio is much better than that of the capitalist countries. . . ."

Elet es Irodalom (Budapest), January 20, 1961

Wirth was repeating the old chestnut: peaceful coexistence does not imply ideological coexistence.

More specifically, he criticized Brody's article for writing of an alliance between the "progressive elements of the bourgeoisie" and the Party as if this alliance were a "non-compromising humanitarianism." This is impossible, however, since "bourgeois humanitarianism, being a bourgeois ideology, is opposed to Socialist ideology." Therefore, the Party cannot refrain "from criticizing bourgeois humanitarianism even in a period of alliance with the bourgeois humanitarians." Wirth went on to say: "The experience gained by the Hungarian Communist movement proves that a political alliance with the progressive forces of the bourgeoisie . . . does not exclude ideological struggle, but, on the contrary, it presupposes it." In order to avoid being labeled a "dogmatist," however, the writer ends lamely by warning that "a consistent ideological struggle must not be confused with political impatience and narrow-mindedness."

Leaders Visit Romania

Deputy First Party Secretary Gyorgy Marosan, Premier Ferenc Munnich and Speaker of Parliament Sandor Ronai all visited Romania in December and January. Although ostensibly vacationing, the presence of three such important figures may represent tacit Hungarian acceptance of the changes affecting the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, whose privileges were cut down after the recent territorial reorganization. (Radio Budapest, January 13.) (See also *East Europe*, February, p. 45.)

Collectivization Drive

The new collectivization drive launched last fall is, characteristically, exceeding expectations; 87.2 percent of the country's arable land has now been absorbed by the "So-

cialist sector." From the provincial daily of the Transdanubian region, *Dunantuli Naplo* (Baranya County), January 4, came a report that as of that date 800,000 cadastral holds (one hold equals 1.42 acres) had been collectivized since the new campaign began. The newspaper suggested that since the Party had set a target of only 1.5 million cadastral holds, "it seems very realistic" to raise the sights by another 200,000 holds.

Problems

However, the new collective farms are having plenty of difficulties. *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest), January 27, called on the Party organizations in the farms to increase their political and educational work. "It is very important to pursue patient and consistent discussions and convincing conversation with the perhaps still uncertain collective members and to consolidate the unity of the farms." Some of the problems are with the collective farm leaders themselves. The Party daily of the same date, reporting on a conference for collective farm chairmen organized by the Ministry of Agriculture, said that the new collective chairmen "are still uncertain and timid." At the same time, the paper said that some of the leaders had legitimate complaints. For example, some district leaders, it said, are given to sending down production targets to the collective farms without even discussing the plans with the chairmen of the farms.

Three Year Plan Fulfillment

Although admitting to a number of "serious distortions" in Hungary's economy, the Central Statistical Office has found the Three Year Plan (1958-60) a complete success. The Plan in its original form set relatively modest goals which were raised early in 1959. The table below compares some of the key targets set forth in the original and revised Plan with data given in the Central Statistical Office's fulfillment report, published January 18 (figures represent percentage increases at the end of 1960 over 1957):

| | Original Targets | Revised Targets | Realized |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------|
| National income | 13 | 25 | 20 |
| Industry | 22 | 35 | 40 |
| Heavy | 31-32 | — | 49 |
| Machine | 35 | — | 63 |
| Chemical | 31 | — | 75 |
| Mining | 30 | — | 30 |
| Iron and steel | — | — | 36 |
| Light | 20-21 | — | 34 |
| Food | 8-9 | — | 19 |
| Agriculture | 12 | 14 | 11-12* |
| Productivity in industry | 15 | 19 | 20 |

These impressive figures conceal one important fact. While industry has expanded rapidly during the past three years, averaging about 12 percent annually, production in

* Preliminary data for 1960 over the average production from 1955 to 1957.



Two of the younger members of a workers' art class in the Budapest industrial center of Csepel. The girl would be at home in Greenwich Village.

Nok Lapja (Budapest), January 19, 1961

the base year of 1957 represented at best recovery from the losses incurred in consequence of the 1956 Revolt; the output of several key items has only recently surpassed the 1955 level. Moreover, underlying this accelerated pace of development has been a sharp increase in the volume of investment. According to the fulfillment report, 89 billion *forint* (in 1959 prices) were spent for investment purposes, or roughly 45 percent more than the 60-62 billion originally planned; 75 percent of this outlay occurred during the last two years. (Two-thirds of the investment funds were used in the capital city of Budapest.) In the allocation of these funds, 44 percent went into industry and building, 18 percent for the development of agriculture and about 10 percent for housing.

The most serious problem has been the failure of labor productivity to keep pace with the rise of industrial production. While productivity was said to be 20 percent higher than in 1957, an average annual increase of about 6.4 percent, its level "still lagged behind that of the more advanced Socialist countries, such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany." Whereas the original Three Year Plan had envisaged that improvements in productivity would contribute about 70 percent of the advancement in industrial output, they have actually accounted for only 53 percent and the remainder has come from increases in manpower. Instead of 90,000 new industrial workers as planned, their number rose by 186,500.

Other difficulties, the report said, were bottlenecks in supply channels and improper utilization of raw materials—neither of which are new phenomena. The building industry was the principal offender: "In three years the frittering away of resources has not been reduced in the building industry, and the time of construction has only been slightly lowered, on an average by about a month. Even now construction takes much longer than is technically warranted."

Agriculture and Living Standards

The most conspicuously lagging sector of the economy was agriculture, where 87.2 percent of the arable land is now in the "Socialist sector." Despite the fact that roughly 77 percent more investments were pumped into the countryside—primarily to bolster the intensive collectivization campaigns—than were earmarked by the original Plan, farm production did not meet its target. The 11-12 percentage increase recorded by the statisticians was based on average production in the period 1955-1957, which was lower than in the single year of 1957. The situation in livestock breeding is illustrated by the following table (in thousand head in March of each year)*:

| | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Horned cattle | 1,973 | 1,937 | 2,004 | 1,971 |
| Cows | 972 | 967 | 962 | 949 |
| Pigs | 4,996 | 5,334 | 6,225 | 5,356 |
| Sheep | 1,873 | 2,050 | 2,155 | 2,301 |

Yields in cattle breeding were said to have improved more than in plant production. While the report claimed that beef production increased 16 percent, pork 15, milk and eggs 22 and wool 25 percent over 1957, it said that "several products such as bread grains, slaughtered pigs and eggs fell short of the estimates." As a result of the lags, exports had to be reduced and import increased for "certain food articles." In the field of mechanization, however, important strides were made during the Plan. The number of tractors on the farms reached a total of 40,000, and the area worked by each machine declined from 356 cadastral hold (one hold equals 1.42 acres) in 1957 to 230 in 1960.

Real wages per capita for workers and employees in 1960 were said to be 10-11 percent higher than in 1957, including earnings from profit sharing in enterprises. Average monthly wages for workers in State-run industry, excluding profit sharing, rose from 1,486 to 1,574 during the Plan, or about 5.8 percent. In the three-year period 130,000 new apartments were built as against 110,000 initially planned. Retail trade rose about 28 percent instead of the 14 percent envisaged for the period. Food sales increased by 24 percent, clothing by 20 percent and durables and other industrial consumer goods by 44 percent. In foreign trade—which has been persistently registering a balance of payments deficit—imports rose 23 percent while exports expanded by only 13 percent. (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], January 29.)

Significant Arrests

The arrest of six Catholic priests, three Catholic monks, a former countess and a former army captain on charges of plotting against the State and for allegedly indecent behavior toward minors may signal the appearance of the successors to the AVH, the security police who were liquidated during the 1956 Revolt. Reasons for this assumption stem from the fact that Radio Budapest, February 7, an-

* *Statisztikai Havi Kozlemenyek (Budapest), No. 5, 1960.*

nounced that organs of the Ministry of the Interior were responsible for the arrests, not the police or the public prosecutor's office as would be customary. The broadcast also labeled the accused as leaders of an organization, indicating that other arrests are likely to follow.

BULGARIA

1960 Plan Fulfillment

The Central Statistical Administration had a difficult task in presenting a picture of last year's economic performance. Working in a context of fact, it took care not to emphasize the most obvious fact: that the economy had not measured up to the enormous goals of the "big leap forward" or, for that matter, to the optimistic predictions that had transformed the Third Five Year Plan (1958-1962) into a three-year plan ending in 1960. It merely asserted that the level of industrial production was above that envisaged for 1962.

Total industrial output was said to have fulfilled the plan for 1960 by 102.3 percent, but the 13.4 percent increase over 1959 was 1.8 percent less than the planned increase for 1960. The Central Statistical Administration maintained a studied silence as to the outcome in the agricultural sector, where a huge 32 percent increase in total production had been planned. It said merely that a considerable amount of work had been done in order to achieve an increase in agricultural production. As a result, yields of several crops improved; the number of cattle increased by 15 percent and of sheep by 4 percent.

Capital investment fell short of its goal by 6.4 percent, with the volume of funds invested rising by 21.2 percent over 1959 as against a 49.4 percent increase in investment the preceding year. During 1959, national income had

EYES FRONT

"The old religious holidays were in substance an expression of the negative relation between religion, life and work; they distracted the attention of the people from real problems, especially from the acute social problems. They drew the eyes toward heaven and to the imaginary life after death, they prompted the people to worry mainly about the immortal 'soul' and to bear sufferings, to deaden the body for its sake, etc.

"Conversely, the Socialist holidays are celebrations of life and of liberated human work. . . . The new character becomes most apparent in the fact that workers' collectives declare new work pledges on the occasion of the great Socialist holidays, in order that the people's life should be even richer and happier, whereas for religion daily work was God's punishment and work on Sundays or holidays a sin against God."

Rodina a Skola (Prague), December 1960

risen by 20 percent; it was expected to increase by 21.5 percent in 1960, but according to preliminary data only a 7 percent growth was actually achieved. Real wages were said to have increased by about 8 percent, and average wages grew within the various branches as follows: 6.9 in industry, 11.4 in construction, 15.1 in transportation, and 9 percent in trade. Foreign trade fulfilled its goal, increasing by about 16 percent.

Output figures for specific products of industry and agriculture were given as follows (percentage increases over 1959 are in parentheses): electric power, 4,657 million kwh (20); coal and lignite, 17.1 million tons (12); crude oil, 200,000 tons (4); steel, 253,000 tons (10); rolled steel, 193,000 tons (16); copper concentrate, 71,000 tons (29); lead concentrate, 120,000 tons (4); zinc concentrate, 113,000 tons (6); electrolytic copper, 14,000 tons (54); lead, 40,000 tons (23); zinc, 17,000 tons (86); tractor cultivators, 3,560 (45); tractor seed drills, 2,025 (10); electric cars, 3,104 (36); radio sets, 157,400 (23); motorcycles, 7,530 (24); bicycles, 75,000 (1); nitrogenous fertilizer, 248,000 tons (34); phosphorous fertilizer, 207,000 tons (35); calcined soda, 135,000 tons (13); sulfuric acid, 123,000 tons (35); caustic soda, 18,000 tons (6); automobile tires, 172,000 (26); cement, 1.6 million tons (11); bricks, 931 million (23); tiles, 190 million (minus 18); timber and sawn lumber, 3.9 million cubic meters (14); plywood, 64,000 cubic meters (10); veneer, 5.4 million square meters (9); cellulose, 21,000 tons (9); paper, 54,000 tons (5); plate glass, 7.6 million square meters (12); cotton fabrics, 218 million meters (4); woolen fabrics, 19 million meters (1); silk fabrics, 11 million meters (12); shoes, 7.5 million pairs (minus 2); meat, 147,000 tons (10); butter, 11,000 tons (29); cheese, 40,000 tons (15); hard cheese, 10,000 tons (16); canned vegetables, 155,000 tons (53); canned fruit, 123,000 tons (minus 3); vegetable oils, 88,000 tons (minus 8); flour, 763,000 tons (minus 13); sugar, 171,000 tons (32); sugar products, 51,000 tons (2); wine, 121 million liters (minus 17); beer, 106 million liters (21); tobacco products, 14,000 tons (minus 9).

Wheat, 2,372,000 tons (minus 2); sunflower seed, 343,000 tons (23); unginned cotton, 64,500 tons (25); sugar beets, 1,620,000 tons (12); tomatoes, 620,000 tons (30). (*Rabotnicheskoe Delo* [Sofia], January 28.)

Decree on Tobacco Growing

On January 17, the Council of Ministers issued a decree designed to cope with the lagging state of tobacco production and to improve its quality. This crop, said to "insure the basic means of existence for more than one million people" (roughly one-eighth of the Bulgarian population), bulks large in total exports. While most of it now goes to the other Communist countries, the government would like to expand sales to the West as a means of earning foreign exchange. A production crisis was underscored in 1960 when instead of a sown area of one million decares and a planned output of 90,000 tons, only 840,000 decares were planted and 65,000 tons harvested. (*Otechestvennye Front* [Sofia], January 17.)

The main provision of the decree is aimed at raising the material incentives of the tobacco growers. Beginning with the 1961 crop, a new purchasing schedule will be introduced which will raise prices on the average by 3.46 *leva* per kilogram. While the price increase will be greatest on the higher quality tobacco, the farmer can be paid these prices for only a fraction of his total output. As an additional incentive, the price of flour and bread sold to the tobacco growers will be reduced.

Other stipulations of the decree entail improving seeds and planting methods, strict pest and disease control, and setting up in the collective farms a system of "scientifically based norms for the remuneration of labor in tobacco growing." (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], January 17.)

Zhivkov on Visit

Bulgarian Party chief Todor Zhivkov, Premier Anton Yugov and Politburo member Dimitar Ganev visited Romania, January 14-21. Although their tour coincided with the 13th anniversary of the signing of the Bulgarian-Romanian friendship and mutual assistance pact, their primary interest was in further industrial collaboration, which is to increase the level of trade by 1965 to four times its volume in 1959. (*Scinteia* [Bucharest], January 16.)

Purchase Price Increase Decreed

In another move calculated to improve incentives in agriculture, the Council of Ministers decreed an increase in the purchasing price paid to farmers for certain key food items such as meat, butter, eggs, milk and other products. Effective January 1, the prices of meat, live weight, are to be increased from 20 to 33 percent. Later in the year, the price effective on eggs will be raised by about 13 percent and that on milk and milk products by 5-6 percent. In order to encourage livestock breeding in the



Detail from one of the Flemish tapestries which comprise part of the Wawel treasures recently returned to Poland from Canada, where they had been taken during the war.

Swiat (Warsaw), January 29, 1961

mountain and semi-mountainous areas, premiums of 20 to 30 percent will be added to the purchasing prices of livestock and milk.

Almost as an afterthought, the Council of Ministers inserted a provision giving collective farms the right to purchase new machinery and equipment at prices paid by State enterprises: namely, State farms and Machine Tractor Stations. Previously, the collective farms could obtain machinery only through the Machine Tractor Stations. (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], February 4.)

WATCH THAT IMAGERY

"The textbook for the fourth grade begins with the eight verses of the National Anthem [the first line of which is: 'God bless the Hungarian people'—Ed.]. The lofty and old-fashioned language of Kolcsey's poem poses a number of difficulties for nine- or ten-year-old children. . . .

"It would be sufficient for the children to familiarize themselves with the National Anthem when studying Kolcsey in their literature classes. It would be more appropriate to start the textbook for the third and fourth grades with 'The Appeal,' the second national anthem [first line: 'Hungarians, be unyieldingly loyal to your fatherland'—Ed.] and to put the National Anthem at the end of the textbook. In this way we could avoid having the textbooks for these two grades begin with the word 'God'. . . ."

Elet es Irodalom (Budapest), January 6, 1961

ALBANIA

Albanian Congress Opens

On February 12, in Tirana, the Fourth Albanian Party Congress got underway. overshadowing the conference was the scarcely-hidden axis with Peiping, the latest evidence of this a trade agreement in which China rather than the USSR appears to have assumed the task of financing Albanian economic development. The opening address was given by Party chief Enver Hoxha, who castigated Yugoslavia and Greece for "working together with the United States Sixth Fleet and a group of Albanian traitors." Echoing, if not surpassing, Peiping's "hard line," he accused American President Kennedy of "preparing for the third World War." Explaining to the 800 delegates that "imperialism has not changed its skin or its nature," he went on

(Continued on page 56)

Texts and Documents

KHRUSHCHEV ON FOREIGN POLICY

On January 6, Premier Khrushchev delivered a report on the recently concluded Moscow conference of 81 Communist Parties. His audience was the most politically sophisticated group in the Soviet Union: the Party organizations of the Higher Party School, the Academy of Social Sciences, and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the Central Committee of the CPSU. This audience was aware of the tensions which had racked the Moscow conference: the tensions between Khrushchev's doctrines of "peaceful coexistence" and the impossibility of survival in a nuclear war, and the Chinese insistence that the "imperialists" are not to be lived with, together with the callous Chinese acceptance of possible death for millions. In his report, Khrushchev reiterated his position but went on to detail more explicitly than usual the various corollaries to his stand, including the possibility of "just wars" and "wars of liberation." Below are major extracts from his address as broadcast by Radio Moscow on January 19.

COMRADES: The conference of representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960 will enter the history of the world Communist and workers' movement as one of its most vivid pages. This conference profoundly analyzed the present-day international situation and worked out positions common for our movement pertaining to the most important questions. As a result of this conference, held in an atmosphere of fraternal unity, the many-million-strong family of Communists of all countries rallied even closer on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and its forces in the heroic struggle for the triumph of the cause of peace and Socialism increased. . . .

The [conference's] appeal to the peoples of the world contains a fiery call to unite in struggle for solution of the most burning problem of our times—prevention of a world war. The appeal again demonstrates that it is precisely we Communists who are the most consistent defenders of the interests of the masses and indicate the only correct way of preserving and strengthening peace.

The work of the conference was imbued with a spirit of proletarian internationalism, Party democracy, and an aspiration for even greater consolidation of the unity of the Communist ranks. The delegations of all the Parties presented their views, exchanged experiences, and contributed to the assessment and collaboration of the basic problems of the present day.

A strengthening of the unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement and an even greater consolidation of the world Communist front on the basis of

the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the principal outcome of the conference. This is a new ideological and political victory for the Communists, a victory of major historic significance. At the same time, it is another defeat for the enemies of Communism and progress. The imperialists and their lackeys were bitterly disappointed when they studied the documents of the conference. We have every reason to state firmly that the unity of the world Communist movement, which the imperialist reactionaries fear like the very devil, has now gained more strength. This is a great success for our common cause. . . .

Under current conditions it is useful to recall, in Lenin's terms, the actual process of the world Socialist revolution, the forces participating in it. The Socialist revolution, Lenin indicated, will not be solely and largely a struggle by the revolutionary proletarians in each country against its own bourgeoisie. No, it will be a struggle by all the colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, of all dependent countries, against international imperialism.

Stressing that this struggle is aimed primarily at national liberation, Lenin said: It is quite clear that in the future decisive battles of the world revolution, the movement of the majority of the population of the globe at first aimed at national liberation will turn against capitalism and imperialism and may play a much greater revolutionary part than we expect.

Now that the world Socialist system has already come into existence, in the time of the greatest upsurge of anti-imperialist national liberation revolutions, it is essential to determine the future course, the prospects of world events. This is impossible, however, without a deep understanding of the nature, substance, and character of the decisive tasks of our era. The question of the character of the era is by no means an abstract or a narrow theoretical question. The general strategic line and tactics of world Communism, of each Communist Party, are closely related to it.

Ideologists of imperialism, including their accomplices in the camp of reformism and revisionism, are relying particularly on the distortion of the character of the present era. Such falsification pursues quite a definite aim: to disorientate the broad masses of the people, to lead them away from the revolutionary path, to bind them to the chariot of imperialism, to present things as if capitalism were not in agony, but were performing a sort of calculated evolutionary transformation toward Socialism. This is precisely the notorious theory of the so-called transformation of capitalism.

The falsifiers maintain that literally all classes of society are interested in such a transformation and allege that, this being so, peace and harmony prevail in the world of capitalism. Such is the picture of the modern era painted by bourgeois ideologists, rightwing Social Democrats, and the revisionist renegades of Communism. It is not fortuitous that the ideologists of capitalism are trying to substitute for the concept of capitalism and imperialism such artificial concepts as "people's capitalism" or "welfare state."

"An Era of Struggle"

We must, of course, unmask these ideological diversions and oppose them by our scientific Marxist-Leninist assessment of the era. We must do that to determine correctly the correlation of forces, to exploit new possibilities which the present era opens up for the further advancement of our great cause. . . .

The statement of the conference provides the following definition of our era: Our era, whose essence is the transition from capitalism to Socialism begun by the great October Socialist Revolution, is an era of the struggle of two diametrically opposed social systems, an era of Socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, an era of the collapse of capitalism and of liquidation of the colonial system, an era of the change to the road of Socialism by more and more nations, and of the triumph of Socialism and Communism on a world scale. . . .

The principal distinguishing feature of

our time is the fact that the world Socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. This has been directly reflected also in the sphere of international relations. Under present conditions, prerequisites have been created for Socialism increasingly to determine the nature, methods, and ways of international relations. This does not mean that imperialism represents an infinitesimal quantity which can be disregarded. Not at all. Imperialism still possesses great strength. It possesses a strong military machine. Now imperialism has created, under peacetime conditions, a gigantic apparatus of war and a widespread system of blocs, and has subjected their economy to the arms race. American imperialists lay claim to the whole world living under their heel and threaten humanity with a rocket and nuclear war.

"Balance of Power"

Contemporary imperialism is being characterized to an ever-increasing degree by decay and parasitism. In their evaluation of the prospects of international developments, Marxist-Leninists do not permit and cannot permit any illusions concerning imperialism. There is countless evidence that imperialists are pursuing a policy of base provocations and aggressions. This is nothing new. What is new is that any intrigues by the imperialists not only are completely exposed but are also resolutely rebuffed, and their attempts to unleash local wars are being cut short.

For the first time in history, the present balance of power in the world arena enables the Socialist camp and other peace-loving forces to pursue the completely realistic task of compelling the imperialists, under the threat of the downfall of their system, not to unleash a world war.

In connection with the possibility of averting a world war, I should like to dwell on the question concerning the prospects for a further development of the general crisis of capitalism. It is generally known that both World War I and World War II exerted enormous influence on the emergence and deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. Does it follow from this that a world war is a necessary condition for a further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism? Such a conclusion would be profoundly incorrect since it distorts the Marxist-Leninist theory of the Socialist revolution and conflicts with the real reasons for revolution. A proletarian revolution does not result from military cataclysms; it is first of all a consequence of the development of the class struggle and of the in-

ternal contradictions of capitalism. . . .

Today the capitalist world is not divided into two imperialist camps, as it was on the eve of both world wars. Nevertheless, it is far from united and is divided by a cruel internal struggle. Even the window of the so-called Atlantic solidarity hides an ugly picture of internal discords and conflicts; the opposition to U. S. leadership and diktat is increasing.

The revival of German militarism and revanchism in the center of Europe restores a most complicated range of Anglo-German, Franco-German, and other imperialist contradictions. If we compare the present position of capitalism with its position after World War II, it becomes clear that a great deepening in the general crisis of capitalism has taken place. . . .

Our militant comrades from the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries take this into consideration in defining their further tactical line in the struggle for the cause of the working class. And it can be said with confidence that the near future will be marked with new successes by the united forces of world Socialism, the working class, and the national liberation movement. . . .

Comrades, the world Socialist movement is the greatest moving force in modern times. The international working class and its Communist vanguard regard it as their duty to strengthen in every way the might and cohesion of the Socialist camp—the stronghold of peace, freedom, and independence. It is well known that the conference devoted a great deal of attention to the further development of the world Socialist system. The statement set forth important theoretical and political tenets of this development. I would like to dwell now on some of them.

As pointed out in the statement, the primary task of Socialist countries is to exploit possibilities inherent in Socialism to outstrip, as soon as possible, the world capitalist system in absolute volume of industrial and agricultural production, and then to overtake the most developed capitalist countries in per capita production and living standards. . . .

"Two Stages of Communism"

Allow me to mention a number of theoretical problems dealt with by our Party in recent years. These are the questions of the two stages of Communism, of the transition from its first stage to the second, higher stage. They are also the questions of the development of the production forces and production relations during the transition from Socialism to

Communism, of the development of the Socialist State system into Communist self-government, of Communist education of the workers, etc. I would like to dwell on some of these questions.

With the advance toward Communism the direction of the Socialist economy grows more complicated. The relationship between the branches of this economy and the economic areas of the country are assuming an increasingly tighter character. In this connection our Party devotes much attention to the working out of problems of the management of national economy and of the improvement of planning. In 1957 reorganization of the management of industry and building was carried out, branch ministries were liquidated, and sovnarkhozes were set up in economic administrative areas. The essence of this measure was to be found in the transfer of the actual direction of economic development to local areas, with the retention of centralized planning. Consequently the principle of democratic centralism was further developed; this conforms to the Leninist tenet which holds that with the advance to Communism and the rise in cultural standards of the people the management of production will be organized on a democratic basis to an increasing extent. . . .

Our Party devotes much attention to the correct application of the Socialist principle of distribution and to the transition in the future to the communist principle of distribution. It has shown the economic failure and the harmfulness of all manifestations of leveling and weakening of the principle of material incentive. As is well known, in the past we had cases of deviation from the principle of material incentive, particularly in agriculture, which caused serious damage to agricultural production and to the kolkhoz system. Contempt for the material requirements of the working people and the concentration of emphasis on enthusiasm and awareness, on social and moral forms of incentive and reward, hampered development of production and the raising of the living standards of the working people.

This had negative internal and even international consequences, for it lowered the prestige of the kolkhoz system and gave food to the enemies of Communism. We eliminated the shortcomings that were allowed to develop, and are bringing about consistent adherence to the principle "from everyone according to his abilities, to everyone according to his work." This principle is a general obligation to work. Its implementation is of enormous importance for raising labor

productivity, increasing workers' skill, and for raising people with the Communist attitude that work is the most vital necessity. At the same time, our party is concerned with combining both material and moral stimuli for work. As we progress toward Communism the moral factor will constantly arise. It is of great importance already. . . .

"Prevention of Catastrophe"

Comrades, questions of war and peace were at the center of attention at the conference. The participants were fully aware that the problem of preventing a global thermonuclear war is the most burning and vital problem for mankind. V.I. Lenin pointed out that since World War I the question of war and peace has become the cardinal question in the entire policy of all countries on earth, a question of life and death for tens of millions of people. These words of Lenin resound with increased force in our days, when an application of the new means of mass destruction threatens unprecedented devastation and the death of hundreds of millions of people.

There is now no more urgent task than the prevention of such a catastrophe. The conference has discovered and outlined ways of using even more effectively the new opportunities of preventing a world war which emerged as a result of the formation of the Socialist camp, the growth of its might, and the new balance of power. The peoples believe that Communists will use the entire might of the Socialist system and the increased strength of the international working class to deliver mankind from the horrors of war. Marx, Engels, and Lenin considered that the historic mission of the working class and its Communist vanguard consisted not only in abolishing the oppression of exploitation, poverty, and lack of rights, but in ridding mankind of bloody wars.

V.I. Lenin nurtured our Party in a spirit of implacable struggle against imperialism, for stable peace and friendship among all peoples. These principles have always been and continue to be the essence of our foreign policy. Our Party remembers Lenin's words to the effect that while dying and disintegrating, capitalism is still capable of causing great calamities to mankind. The Party always maintains the greatest vigilance regarding the danger emanating from imperialism. It nurtures the Soviet people in this spirit and does everything necessary to make it impossible for the enemy over to catch us unawares.

We warn of a threat of war in order to raise the vigilance and energy of the

peoples and to mobilize them for the struggle to prevent world war. The attitude of the CPSU toward problems of war and peace are generally known. It has been more than once expounded in decisions of congresses and in other documents of our Party.

Wars have followed the division of the society into classes, i.e., the basis for the beginning of all wars will be finally eliminated only when the division of society into hostile antagonistic classes is abolished. The victory of the working class throughout the world and the victory of Socialism will bring about the removal of all social and national causes of the outbreak of wars, and mankind will be able to rid itself forever of that dreadful plight.

In modern conditions the following categories of wars should be distinguished: world wars, local wars, liberation wars, and popular uprisings. It is necessary to work out the correct tactics with regard to these wars.

Let us begin with the question of world wars. Communists are the most determined opponents of world wars, just as they are generally opponents of wars among States. These wars are needed only by imperialists to seize the territories of others, and to enslave and plunder other peoples. Before the formation of the world Socialist camp the working class had no opportunity to make a determining impact on the solution of the question of whether there should or should not be world wars. In these conditions the best representatives of the working class raised the slogan of turning imperialist wars into civil wars, or to exploit the situation that had arisen to seize power. . . .

Of course, there also are among the imperialist countries acute contradictions and antagonisms, as well as the desire to profit at the expense of others who are weaker; yet imperialists now must keep an eye on the Soviet Union and the whole Socialist camp, and are afraid of starting wars among themselves. They are trying to play down their differences; they have set up military blocs in which they have involved many capitalist countries. Although these blocs are being torn by internal struggle, their members—as they themselves say—are united in their hatred of Communism and, of course, by the nature and aspirations of imperialism.

In present conditions, the most probable wars are wars among capitalist and imperialist countries, and this too should not be ruled out.

Wars are chiefly prepared by imperialists against Socialist countries, and in the first place against the Soviet Union as the

most powerful of the Socialist States. Imperialists would wish to undermine our might and thus reestablish the former domination of monopolistic capital. The task is to create impassable obstacles against the unleashing of wars by imperialists. We possess increasing possibilities for placing obstacles in the path of the warmongers. Consequently, we can forestall the outbreak of a world war.

Of course, as yet we are unable to completely exclude the possibility of wars, for the imperialist States exist. However, the unleashing of wars has become a much more complicated business for the imperialists than it was before the emergence of the mighty Socialist camp. Imperialists can unleash a war, but they must think hard about the consequences. . . .

A word or two about local wars. A lot is being said nowadays in the imperialist camp about local wars, and they are even making small-caliber atomic weapons for use in such wars; a special theory of local wars has been concocted. Is this fortuitous? Of course not. Certain imperialist circles, fearing that world war might end in the complete collapse of capitalism, are putting their money on unleashing local wars.

"Combat Both World Wars and Local Wars"

There have been local wars and they may occur again in the future, but opportunities for imperialists to unleash these wars too are becoming fewer and fewer. A small imperialist war, regardless of which imperialist begins it, may grow into a world thermonuclear rocket war. We must therefore combat both world wars and local wars.

As an example of a local war unleashed by the imperialists, we may take the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt. They wanted to strangle Egypt and thus intimidate the Arab countries struggling for independence, and also to frighten the other peoples of Asia and Africa. British statesmen, including Eden, spoke quite openly of their desire to deal summarily with Egypt when we were in London. We told them frankly: If you start a war, you will lose it; we will not remain neutral. When that war started, the United Nations formally condemned it, but this did not worry the aggressors and they went on with their dirty deed and even thought they had almost achieved their ends. The Soviet Union and the whole Socialist camp came to the defense of Egypt. The Soviet Government's stark warning to Eden and Guy Mollet stopped the war. The local war, the venture in Egypt, failed miserably.

This was in 1956, when the balance of power between the countries of Socialism and the countries of imperialism was not the same as it is today. We were not as mighty then as we are today. In addition, the rulers of Britain, France, and Israel reckoned on being able to utilize the difficulties which had arisen in Hungary and Poland. Spokesmen of imperialist States were whispering into our ears: You have your difficulties in Hungary, we have ours in Egypt; therefore do not interfere in our affairs. Yet we gave a due reply to these whisperers. We did not shut our eyes to their bandit deeds. We interfered and stopped their aggression. Here is an example of how a local war started by the imperialists was stopped as a result of the interference by the Soviet Union and the entire Socialist camp. . . .

"Support National Liberation Wars"

Now a word about national liberation wars. The armed struggle by the Vietnamese people or the war of the Algerian people, which is already in its seventh year, serve as the latest examples of such wars. These wars begin at an uprising by the colonial peoples against their oppressors and changed into guerilla warfare. Liberation wars will continue to exist as long as imperialism exists, as long as colonialism exists. These are revolutionary wars. Such wars are not only admissible but inevitable, since the colonialists do not grant independence voluntarily. Therefore, the peoples can attain their freedom and independence only by struggle, including armed struggle.

How is it that the U. S. imperialists, while desirous of helping the French colonialists in every way, decided against direct intervention in the war in Vietnam? They did not intervene because they knew that if they did help France with armed forces, Vietnam would get relevant aid from China, the Soviet Union, and other Socialist countries, which could lead to a world war. The outcome of the war is known. North Vietnam was victorious.

At present, a similar war is taking place in Algeria. What kind of war is it? It is the uprising of the Arab people in Algeria against French colonizers. It is being conducted in the form of a partisan war. The imperialists in the United States and Britain render assistance to their French allies with arms. Moreover, they have allowed France, a participant in NATO, to transfer its troops from Europe for the struggle against the Algerian people.

The Algerian people, too, receive assistance from neighboring and other countries

that sympathize with their peace-loving aspirations. But it is a liberation war of a people for its independence, it is a sacred war. We recognize such wars, we help and will help the peoples striving for their independence.

Or let us take Cuba's example. A war took place there too. But it also started as an uprising against the internal tyrannical regime supported by U. S. imperialism. Batista was a protege of the United States. The latter rendered active assistance to him. However, the United States did not interfere in that war directly with its armed forces. The Cuban people, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, have won.

Can such wars flare up in the future? They can. Can there be such uprising? There can. But these are wars which are national uprisings. In other words, can conditions be created where a people will lose their patience and rise in arms? They can. What is the attitude of the Marxists toward such uprising? A most positive one. These uprisings must not be identified with wars among States, with local wars, since in these uprisings the people are fighting for implementation of their right for self-determination, for independent social and national development. These are uprisings against rotten reactionary regimes, against the colonizers. The Communists fully support such just wars and march in the front rank with the peoples waging liberation struggles.

Comrades, mankind has come close to the historic point where it can solve all problems which were beyond the strength of former generations. This also concerns the most vital issue, the prevention of a world war. The working class, which already leads a large part of the world—and the time will come when it will lead the whole world—cannot allow the forces doomed to ruin to drag hundreds of millions of people to the grave with them.

A world war in present conditions would be a rocket and nuclear war, the most destructive war in history. Among hydrogen bombs already tested are those in which the power of one bomb exceeds by several times the force of all explosives used during the World War II—and even during all of mankind's existence. According to scientific calculations, the explosion of a single hydrogen bomb in an industrial area can destroy up to 1.5 million people, and cause death from radiation to another 400,000.

Even a medium-sized hydrogen bomb is sufficient to wipe a large town off the face of the earth. British scientists have concluded that four megaton bombs, one each for London, Birmingham, Lancashire,

and Yorkshire would destroy at least 20 million people. According to data submitted to the Senate by American experts, losses after 24 hours of nuclear war are expected to total 50 to 75 million people. . . .

Now there is more than one worker-peasant State in the world, there is an entire system of Socialist States. Our duty to history is to insure peace and peaceful development of this great offspring of the international working class and to protect the peoples of all countries from another destructive war. The victory of Socialism throughout the world, which is inevitable because of the laws of historic development, is now near. For this victory, wars among States are not necessary. . . .

The CPSU and Soviet Government will continue with determination to do everything to enhance the military might of our country, since the imperialists continue the arms race. In rebuffing the aggressive actions of imperialism, our Party and government display firmness and presence of mind. We always seek to direct the development of events in a way which insures that, while defending the interests of the Socialist camp, we do not provide the imperialist provocateurs with a chance to unleash a new world war.

We set ourselves the task of exposing the aggressive essence of all military-political alignments of the imperialists like NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, of seeking their isolation and ultimate liquidation. We have repeatedly stated that in those circumstances we are willing to terminate the Warsaw Treaty. All peoples in the world gain from the liquidation of military alignments. This would be a most important concrete contribution to the consolidation of peace, improvement of the international atmosphere, and a major success of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In spite of all their efforts the imperialists lately have not succeeded in involving a single new State in their military alignments. It is significant that all new independent States have declared their intention to pursue a policy of non-participation in military blocs.

The struggle against the revival of German militarism is of particular importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, and not only in Europe.

The Soviet Union is waging this struggle together with the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other Socialist countries in various directions. The most important of these is the struggle for a peace treaty.

The program of peaceful German settlement submitted by Socialist States and the solution on this basis of the question

of West Berlin have to a great extent assisted in exposing the aggressive circles of the United States, the German Federal Republic, and other NATO participants as opponents of a relaxation of tension.

The international positions of the GDR—the outpost of Socialism in Western Europe—have become stronger. The positions of the United States, Great Britain, and France have turned out to be particularly vulnerable in West Berlin. These powers are still trying to cling to the old statutes. They cannot fail to understand that sooner or later an end will come to the occupation regime in this city. It is essential to continue, step by step, to bring the aggressive imperialist circles to their senses, to compel them to take the actual position into account. If they are stubborn, we will adopt decisive measures. We will conclude a peace treaty with the GDR because we are fully determined to insure the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany at last, to do away with the occupational regime in West Berlin, and, thus, to eradicate this splinter from the heart of Europe. . . .

"Struggle for Peace . . . and Communism"

The struggle for disarmament is the most important factor for averting war. It is an effective struggle against imperialism. In such a struggle the Socialist camp has the majority of mankind on its side. The ideals of peace and progress are our vital ideals. After all, the constituent manifesto of the First International, written by Marx, contained an appeal that the simple laws of morality and justice, which ought to guide private individuals, should become the highest laws in relations between nations.

When we raise the slogan of the struggle for peace without weapons and without war, we naturally take into account that under modern conditions, while two different world social systems exist, there still are in the imperialist camp some forces, and quite considerable ones at that, which not only do support this slogan but fight against it.

The question of the struggle for Communism is a class struggle, but in the struggle for peace not only the forces of the working class, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie can be united, but even the part of the bourgeoisie which sees the real danger of thermonuclear war.

Consequently the slogan of the struggle for peace does not contradict the slogan of the struggle for Communism. These two slogans harmonize with each other because in the eyes of the broad masses

of people Communism acts as a force capable of saving mankind from the horrors of modern destructive rocket-nuclear war, and imperialism is being associated in the minds of the masses with war more and more, as a system which engenders wars. Therefore, the slogan of the struggle for peace appears as a satellite of the slogan of the struggle for Communism. As correctly stated in the statement, the movement of peace partisans is the broadest movement of modern times, embracing people of different political and religious views, belonging to different classes of society, but united by the noble endeavor to prevent new wars and to insure lasting peace.

Among the people who fight for peace, there are representatives of various social strata, various political opinions, and religious outlooks. The struggle for disarmament is an active struggle against imperialism, for restricting its military potentialities. Peoples must do everything to achieve the prohibition and destruction of atomic weapons and all other mass destruction weapons. Peace will then be insured and there will open before the people the most favorable prospects for organizing their lives in accordance with their aspirations and interests. . . .

Comrades, the peoples which achieved national independence have become a new and powerful force in the struggle for peace and social progress. The national liberation movement deals more and more blows against imperialism, helps consolidation of peace, contributes to speeding mankind's development along the path of social progress. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are now the most important centers of revolutionary struggle against imperialism. In the postwar period about 40 countries won national independence. Almost 1.5 billion people have wrenches themselves out of colonial slavery. . . .

This vastly multiplies the progressive forces of mankind. For example take Asia, this ancient cradle of civilization. What inexhaustible strength lies hidden in the peoples of this continent! And will the Arab people with their heroic traditions, and all the peoples of the Middle East, which have already freed or are freeing themselves from political and economic dependence on imperialism, play any lesser role in the solution of tasks now facing mankind?

A remarkable phenomenon of our time is the awakening of the peoples of Africa. Dozens of states in north and central Africa have already achieved independence. The south of Africa is seething and there is no doubt that the fascist prisons in the Union of South Africa will collapse, that Rhodesia, Uganda, and other

parts of Africa will become free.

The forces of the national liberation movement are greatly increasing owing to the fact that one more front of active struggle against American imperialism has been formed in recent years. Latin America has become this front. Until recently that vast continent was identified by one concept: America. This concept greatly expressed its substance: Latin America was bound hand and foot by Yankee imperialism.

By their struggle, the Latin American peoples are showing that the American continent is not an appendage of the United States. Latin America is reminiscent of an active volcano: the lava of the liberation struggle has swept away dictatorial regimes in a number of Latin American countries.

The whole world has heard the thunder of the heroic Cuban revolution. The Cuban revolution is not only repelling the onslaught of the imperialists; it is going deeper and broader, marking a new, higher stage of the national liberation struggle, with people coming to power, with the people themselves becoming masters of their own wealth, solidarity with revolutionary Cuba is the duty not only of the people of Latin America; it is also the duty of the Socialist countries, of the entire international Communist movement, the proletariat of all areas of the world. . . .

Bourgeois and revisionist politicians allege that the development of the national liberation movement is independent of the working class struggle for Socialism, independent of the Socialist States' support, that it is the colonizers who grant freedom to the peoples of former colonial countries. Such inventions are launched to isolate the young independent states from the Socialist camp, to prove that on the international stage they should, allegedly, play the part of some kind of third force and not oppose imperialism.

Is it necessary to mention that such reasoning is downright charlatanism? It is a historical fact that before the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution nations were not able to break the shackles of colonialism. History has proved that without the establishment of Socialism, if only in a part of the world, there could have been no question of the abolition of colonialism. The imperialist powers, primarily the United States, are exerting every effort to attach to their own system the countries which have freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism, and thus to strengthen the position of world capitalism by providing it—as the bourgeois ideologists say

—with new blood, to rejuvenate and consolidate it. . . .

"National Democracies"

Particular note should be taken of the idea in the statement concerning formation of national democracies. The statement describes the basic features of this state and the tasks it is called on to carry out. It is important to stress that with the immense variety of conditions in countries whose peoples have risen to independent, historic creative work, various forms of settling problems of social progress cannot fail to arise. The correct application of Marxist-Leninist theory in countries which have freed themselves consists indeed in seeking forms for uniting the whole nation while taking account of the special features of the economic, political, and cultural life of the peoples, in insuring the leading role of the working class in the national front, and in the struggle for resolute extermination of the roots of imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, for clearing the way for an eventual movement toward Socialism.

At present, when imperialist reaction is trying to foist a policy of anti-Communism on the young, independent states, a truthful explanation of Communist views and aims becomes particularly significant. Communists generally support democratic measures taken by national governments. At the same time, Communists explain to the masses that these measures are not Socialist ones. . . .

The Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the 15th session of the U.N. General Assembly a declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. As a result of acute political struggle around this proposal, which seethed not only in the United Nations but outside it, the General Assembly adopted the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The main conclusion of the Soviet declaration, the necessity of a speedy and final liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, was on the whole reflected in the decision passed by the United Nations. This was a great victory for the progressive forces and for all Socialist states which firmly and consistently defend the cause of the freedom and independent national development of peoples.

It is necessary to stress that in the solution of this problem at the U.N. General Assembly colonizers were isolated by Socialist and neutralist countries, countries which take the stand for the liquidation

of colonial system. Even some of the countries which belong to aggressive blocs, for instance, Norway and Denmark, voted for the liquidation of the colonial system. The colonizers were left a miserable handful of nine countries which abstained from voting. This is highly characteristic, as it shows to the whole world who stands for the liquidation of the colonial system and what the so-called free countries uphold.

Is it not significant that among those who abstained were representatives of such countries as the United States, Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and others? Despite being doomed to fail, colonialism still has quite a considerable strength of resistance and will cause much harm to many peoples. Around it there gathers all that is obsolete and reactionary. Colonialism is the direct or indirect cause of many conflicts threatening mankind with a new war. . . .

The Communist system for which Marxists-Leninists struggled has been prepared by the entire process of social development, and the transition to it is a ripe task. Marxists-Leninists cannot fail to be concerned with, and are in fact concerned with, interpreting the ways of transition to the new society, and here not a few complex problems arise. Fraternal Parties have highly rated the contribution made at the 20th CPSU Congress to the elaboration of urgent problems. The conference of Communist and workers' Parties in 1957 and the November forum of the world Communist movement in 1960 devoted serious attention to the elaboration of these problems and have advanced the theory and practice of the Communist movement. Recognition of the necessity of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into a Socialist society is an axiom for us Soviet Communists, sons of the October Revolution. The path to Socialism lies through proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Transition to Socialism Can Be Peaceful"

As for the forms of transition to socialism, they will, as was pointed out by the 20th CPSU Congress, become increasingly diverse, and it is not essential that the transition to Socialism everywhere and in all case be connected with armed uprisings and civil war. Marxism-Leninism proceeds from the view that the forms of transition to Socialism can be of a peaceful or nonpeaceful nature. Revolution by peaceful means is in keeping with the interests of the working class and the

masses. But if the ruling classes counter revolution with force and are unwilling to bow to the will of the people, the proletariat must break their resistance and start a resolute civil war.

We are convinced that as the might of the world Socialist system increases and the level of organization of the working class in capitalist countries improves, increasingly favorable conditions for Socialist revolutions will occur.

Transition to Socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions can also be carried out by making use of parliament and in other countries of institutions in keeping with their national traditions. Here it is not a case of making use of bourgeois parliaments but of the parliamentary form, in order to make it serve the people and give it new content. Thus, it is not a case of some kind of electoral combinations, of battle merely for the ballot box—that is what the reformists do. Such are alien to Communists. For us the unification and rallying of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the deployment of mass revolutionary actions are an essential condition to gain a firm majority in parliament.

To gain a majority in parliament, to make of it a body of popular power with the existence of a powerful revolutionary movement in the country, means the overthrow of the military bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and creation of a new proletarian State system in parliamentary form. It is obvious that in countries where capitalism is still strong, where it has a huge military and policy apparatus, the transition to Socialism will unavoidably take place in conditions of an acute class struggle. The decisive condition for all forms of transition to Socialism is political leadership of the working class headed by the Communist vanguard.

These conclusions reached by the 20th CPSU Congress are based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, on the practice of fraternal Communist Parties, on the experience of the international Communist movement, and correctly take into consideration the change in international conditions. They direct Communist Parties toward cohesion of the working class and the majority of people to master all forms of struggle—peaceful and nonpeaceful, parliamentary and nonparliamentary. Lenin taught the Communists to be ready, depending on the situation, to make use of one form or another of struggle and to educate the working masses in the spirit of readiness for resolute revolutionary actions.

Of course, to define what forms and

methods of struggle will be selected by the working class in one country or another under concrete historical circumstances is the task of the proletariat itself in each country, and of its Communist vanguard.

It must be emphasized here that under present conditions the following tenet in the statement of the conference is of special significance: The Communist Parties, being guided by Marxist-Leninist teaching, have always opposed the export of revolution; at the same time they resolutely struggle against the imperialist export of counterrevolution; they regard it as their international duty to call upon people in all countries to rally and mobilize all their internal forces, to work actively, and, basing themselves on the might of the world Socialist system, prevent or resolutely rebuff interference by the imperialists in the people's affairs in any country which has risen to revolt.

It is a very complicated thing to lead the masses to Socialist revolution. It is known from our Party's experience that the Bolsheviks, struggling for power, devoted their principal attention to working among the masses, to establishment and consolidation of the union of the working class with the peasantry, to training the political army of the Socialist revolution. Leninists worked wherever there were masses—among the workers, peasants, women, young people, in the army. Each Party can see better which slogan at any moment corresponds best with the task of winning the masses, leading them forward, stimulating cohesion of the political army of the Socialist revolution. . . .

"Struggle Against Revisionism"

Bourgeois propaganda is assuming an increasingly cunning nature. Its main weapon in the struggle against the Socialist Camp and the Communist Parties is anti-Communism. We must resolutely unmask this unscientific and purely false ideology. The cause of Socialism cannot progress successfully without a determined struggle against opportunism in the workers' and Communist movement, without a struggle against revisionism, dogmatism, and sectarianism.

You all know well that three years ago the Communist movement was subjected to wild attacks by revisionists and that in some countries it concerned the life and death of the revolutionary Parties of the working class. In the Communist Party of such a country as the United States the revisionist group of Gates was active. In the Danish Communist Party undermining activity was conducted by

the Larsen group. The revisionists were a serious danger to some other fraternal Parties as well.

It can be noted with a feeling of profound satisfaction that revisionist pollution was unmasked and thrown out of the Party. From the struggle with the revisionists the Communist Parties emerged stronger and more mature, wiser in experience. The Communist Parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of contemporary revisionism. The struggle against revisionism, against all sorts of deviations from Leninism, retains its urgency. It is a struggle to strengthen the Socialist camp and consistently implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with his usual perspicacity, stated that the struggle with the evil of nationalism, with the most deep-rooted national petty-bourgeois prejudices, moves more and more urgently into the foreground as a task of turning the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one—one existing in a single country and incapable of determining world policy—into an international one—a dictatorship of the proletariat in at least several leading countries and capable of having a decisive influence on all world policy.

The struggle with revisionism in all its forms still remains today an important task of the Communist Parties. As long as the bourgeois order exists, there will be a nutritive medium for the ideology of revisionism too. Therefore, we must always keep our powder dry and wage implacable war on revisionism which tries to wipe out the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism, whitewash modern capitalism, undermine the solidarity of the Communist movement, and encourage Communist Parties to go their separate national ways.

The Communist movement has another danger: dogmatism and sectarianism. At the present time, when a rallying of all forces for the struggle against imperialism, for the prevention of war, and for the overthrow of the monopolies is required, dogmatism and sectarianism can do great harm to our cause. Leninism is uncompromising toward dogmatism. Lenin wrote: It is essential to learn the indisputable truth that a Marxist must take account of life, of the exact facts of reality, and not go on clinging to yesterday's theory, which, like all theory, at best outlines fundamentals, generalities, and only approximates a total comprehension of the complexities of life.

Dogmatism nourishes sectarian stodginess which hinders the rallying of the

working class and all progressive forces around the Communist Parties. Dogmatism and sectarianism are in irreconcilable contradiction to the creative development of revolutionary theory and its creative application in practice. They lead to the isolation of Communists from the broad strata of the workers; they condemn them to passive temporizing or leftist adventurist activities in the revolutionary struggle; they prevent full use of all opportunities in the interests of the victory of the working class and all democratic forces.

The statement stresses that the Communist Parties will continue to wage a resolute struggle on two fronts; against revisionism, which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. Unless a consistent struggle is waged against them, dogmatism and sectarianism may even become the main danger at one stage or another of the development of individual parties. The Communist and workers' Parties consider it their international duty to hold high the banner of creative Marxism-Leninism as a decisive condition for all our further victories. . . .

Comrades, the struggle between the Communist and all the popular forces on one side, and the forces of imperialism on the other, is entering a new stage. In these conditions the solidarity of the ranks of the Socialist camp and the entire international Communist movement acquires foremost importance. Our solidarity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the main condition for victory of the working class over imperialism. We keep sacred the bequest of the great Lenin—to march forward firmly holding hands. The unity of our ranks increases the strength of Communism tenfold. Solidarity, solidarity, and again solidarity—such is the law of the international Communist movement.

It follows from the essence of Leninism itself that every Marxist-Leninist Party must prevent, both within its own ranks and in the international Communist movement, any action which could undermine its unity and solidarity. The common aim of the struggle of all Communists of the world demands, as before, a unity of will and action of the Communist Parties of all countries. The conference made a major contribution to the further consolidation of the international communist movement by declaring, in complete accord with Leninist teaching, that the Communist Parties will in every way strengthen the unity of their ranks and the unity of the whole international Communist movement. . . .

A resolute defense of the unity of the international Communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and a prevention of any action capable of undermining this unity constitute a necessary condition for a victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace, and for a successful solution of the tasks of the Socialist revolution, the building of Socialism and Communism. A violation of these principles would lead to a weakening of the forces of Communism.

"USSR Does Not Lead the Socialist Camp"

It should be noted that the delegation of the CPSU at the conference set out its viewpoint concerning the wording that the Soviet Union is at the head of the Socialist camp and that the CPSU is at the head of the Communist movement. Our delegation declared that in this wording we see first of all high praise of the services of our Party, which was created by Lenin, and an expression of cordial thanks to all fraternal Parties.

Our Party, nurtured by Lenin, has always regarded it as its foremost duty to fulfill international obligations to the international working class. The delegation assured the participants of the conference that the Party in the future too would bear high the banner of proletarian internationalism and would spare no effort to fulfill its international obligations. At the same time, the CPSU delegation proposed that the wording should not be included in the declaration or other documents of the Communist movement.

Regarding the principles of mutual relations between the fraternal parties, the CPSU expressed its position most definitely at the 21st Party Congress.

From the tribune of the congress we declared before the whole world that in the Communist movement, just as in the Socialist camp, there has existed and exists complete equality of rights and solidarity of all Communist and workers' Parties and Socialist countries. The CPSU in reality does not exercise leadership over other Parties. In the Communist movement there are no Parties that are superior or subordinate. All Communist Parties are equal and independent. All carry responsibility for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its victories and failures. Each Communist and workers' Party is responsible to the working class, the working people of its own country, to the entire international workers and Communist movement.

The role of the Soviet Union does not lie in the fact that it leads other Socialist countries but in the fact that it was the first to blaze the trail to Socialism, is the most powerful country in the world Socialist system, has amassed a great deal of positive experience in the struggle for the building of Socialism, and was the first to enter the period of comprehensive construction of Communism. It is stressed in the statement that the universally acknowledged vanguard of the world Communist movement has been and still remains the CPSU, as the most experienced and hardened unit of the international Communist movement.

At the moment, when there exists a large group of Socialist countries, each of which is faced with its own tasks, when there are 87 Communist and workers' Parties functioning, each of which moreover is also faced with its own tasks, it is not possible for leadership over Socialist countries and Communist Parties to be exercised from any center at all. This is neither possible nor necessary.

There have grown up in the Communist Parties hardened Marxist-Leninist cadres capable of leading their own parties, their countries. However, in practice, as is well known, the CPSU does not give directives to any other Parties. The fact that we are called the leader gives no advantages either to our Party or to other Parties. On the contrary, it only creates difficulties.

As is evident from the text of the statement, the fraternal Parties have agreed with the conclusions of our delegation. The question may arise: Will our international solidarity not be weakened by the fact that this provision is not written down in the statement? No, it will not be weakened. At the present time there is no statute which could regulate relations between Parties. Instead, we have a common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and loyalty to it is the main condition of our solidarity and unity. It is necessary to be consistently guided by the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin: to resolutely practice the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Then the cause of international solidarity of the Communist movement will continually strengthen. . . .

Of course, in building Socialism and Communism, new forms and methods yielding good results in the achievements of the great Socialist aims are emerging. Since different conditions exist in various Socialist countries, it is natural that every Communist Party applies Marxist-Leninist theory in accordance with conditions in its country. Therefore we must understand such strivings by the fraternal

Parties, who know better the conditions and peculiarities in their countries. We are proceeding from the statement by the great Lenin that all nations will come to Socialism. This is unavoidable. But all will not come in the same way. Each of them will bring its own traits into one or another form of democracy, into one or another variety of dictatorship of the proletariat, into one or another rate of Socialist transformations in various aspects of social life. But, of course, there is no need to exaggerate the significance of these peculiarities, to overstress them, failing to see the main part of Communist construction indicated by the teaching of Marx and Lenin.

We have always been firmly defending and will defend purity of the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the basic principles of its implementation. Representatives of Communist and workers' Parties exchanged their opinions on the present international situation, discussed the urgent problems of the Communist and workers' movement, or, as comrades figuratively stated at the conference, synchronized their watches. Indeed, the Socialist countries and the Communist Parties must synchronize their watches. When someone's clock is fast or slow, it is regulated so that it shows the correct time. Similarly, it is necessary to check the time of the Communist movement, so that our powerful army keeps in step and makes confident strides toward Communism. If it is possible to use such a figure of speech, Marxism-Leninism and the jointly worked out documents of international Communist conferences serve us as chimes, striking the hour. After all, the Communist and workers' Parties attending the conference unanimously worked out their decisions. Every Party will adhere to these decisions in a strict and sacred manner, throughout its activities.

Comrades, the importance of the conference lies in the fact that as its result the participants of the conference have felt even better, stronger, and more confident. There has opened before them to an even wider extent the grand epic of the struggle of all Communist and workers' Parties. This contributes to the rallying together of the international Communist movement. Every fraternal Party emphasized in the international forum its confidence in the victory of our common cause. This is of immense importance for the consolidation of the whole international Communist movement. The unity of the ranks of every Communist Party and the unity of all Communist Parties constitute the united

international Communist movement directed at the achievement of our common goal — the triumph of Communism throughout the world. The main thing that is now demanded of all Communist and workers' Parties is all-round and persistent efforts to strengthen the unity and cohesion of their ranks.

The unity of the ranks of the Communist movement in modern conditions assumes particularly great importance. It is required by the world-wide historic tasks which the Communist movement is now called upon to tackle. On behalf of the CPSU our delegation assured the participants of the conference that we, on our part, would do everything to strengthen still more the close fraternal bonds with all Communist Parties. Our Party will do everything so the Socialist camp and the world Communist front becomes even stronger. The CPSU is filled with unwavering determination to strengthen the unity and friendship with all fraternal Parties of Socialist countries and with the Marxist-Leninist Parties of all the world.

In this connection, I would like to refer to our invariable endeavor to strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship with the Chinese Communist Party, with the great Chinese people. In our relations with the Chinese Communist Party our Party is always guided by the fact that the friendship of the two great peoples, the cohesion of our two Parties—the largest in the international Communist movement—is of exceptional importance in the struggle for the triumph of our common cause. Our Party has always made, and will continue to make, every effort to strengthen this great friendship. With People's China, with the Chinese Communists, just as with the Communists of all countries, we share one goal, the safeguarding of peace and the building of Communism; we share common interests, the happiness and well-being of the working people; and we share the common basis of firm principles, Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU and Soviet people will do everything to insure that the unity of our Parties and our peoples will increasingly

strengthen so as not only to disappoint the enemies but to shake them even more with our unity and to attain our great goal—the triumph of Communism.

Comrades, we live at a splendid time: Communism has become the invincible force of our century. The further successes of Communism depend to an enormous degree on our will, our unity, our foresight and resolve. Through their struggle and their labor, Communists, the working class, will attain the great goals of Communism on earth. Men of the future, Communists of the next generations, will envy us. In their thoughts they will always revert to our days when the lines from the Party anthem, "We shall build our own new world and those who were nothing will become everything!" resounded with particular force.

The CPSU has been, is, and shall be true to the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, to proletarian internationalism, and friendship among peoples. It will always struggle for universal peace, for the victory of Communism as we were taught by great Lenin.

"CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS" (continued from page 47)

to outline an "odious plot," fomented by the USA against Albania, which was "foiled" several months ago.

Although Hoxha was careful to praise the Soviet Union, he continued to reflect Communist Chinese sentiments regarding the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" by warning that "peace cannot be assured by making concessions to the imperialists or by flattering them." He said: "It is necessary that all over the world the masses should rise to stay the hand of the imperialists—and their lackeys, the revisionists, who try to sow discord among the people."

Belgrade reported that portraits of Stalin as large as those of Marx, Engels and Lenin were displayed in the Albanian capital. Great publicity accompanied the Peiping delegation, headed by Li Hsien-nien, a Deputy Premier and member of the Politburo. (*The New York Times*, February 14.)

Albanian National Day

On the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of the Albanian People's Republic, January 11, Haxhi Lleshi, presiding officer of the national assembly, lashed out against "Yugoslav revisionism and provocations." In a speech, broadcast over Radio Tirana, January 10, Lleshi began his address by lauding the successes of the Albanian economy, citing the 1960 industrial output as being "24 times greater than in 1958," and predicting that 1960 agricultural production would be "184 percent greater than before the war."

Passing quickly from economic considerations to foreign

relations, he accused the Yugoslavs of "trying to divide the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement and to obstruct our country in the building of Socialism. The Tito clique is pursuing a denationalizing policy toward the Albanians in [Yugoslav] Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, and openly adheres to a hostile and provocative attitude toward our country. Therefore, the Party teaches us resolutely and vigilantly to defend the people's republic by holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other. In the future as well, our enemies will undoubtedly suffer the most shameful failures."

Peiping Warm, Sofia Cool

As if to point up the Chinese-Albanian entente, effusive greetings were dispatched from Peiping on the occasion of the holiday. The Albanian Party was lauded for "making an indefatigable effort in the fight against imperialism and Yugoslav revisionism, to safeguard Marxism-Leninism, to defend world peace, and to help the cause of human progress." (Radio Tirana, January 13.)

A sign of Bulgaria's disapproval of Albanian Party chief Enver Hoxha's "dogmatic" tendencies was apparent when the Bulgarian press, in discussing the Albanian holiday, omitted the customary title of "Comrade" before Hoxha's name. In this respect, the Bulgarian press was following the USSR's lead, when Moscow's *Pravda* in New Year's messages to fraternal Parties, did not refer to the Albanians as comrades.

FACTS AND FIGURES (continued from page 19)

were brought in to help with the harvesting. (Radio Prague reported on September 1 that the soldiers had worked a total of 170,000 shifts on the farms and hauled in corn from hundreds of hectares in army trucks.)

While Hungarian authorities staunchly clung to the thesis that the peasants would not be deterred from increasing their production by the intense campaign to finish the collectivization of the countryside, the grain harvest in 1960 failed to bear them out. No comparable information has been forthcoming on the rest of the harvest, but judging from newspaper complaints of food shortages the results must not have been good. The plan fulfillment report for 1960 explained the fall of grain production as the result of a shift to corn, sugar-beets and fodder plants, although "certain plants" did not attain the planned levels and even lagged behind results in earlier years. The laggard state of crop production is underlined by the plans for 1961 which call for a 10.6 percent rise for the plant sector over the 1960 level as against 4.5 percent for the animal sector.

Whether the Bulgarian harvest was an over-all success or failure is not altogether clear. Data in the 1960 plan fulfillment report indicate significant progress for selected crops, but even these figures are hardly in line with the 32

percent increase in agricultural production which had been the target for 1960. The output of both wheat and corn were admitted to have dropped below the 1959 level: wheat by 2 percent and corn (as grain) by 1.7 percent. In the case of each crop, the shortfall was described as resulting from a decline in planted acreage. (Oddly enough, wheat yields, which improved by 9 percent last year, are expected to decline in 1961; but an additional 74,020 hectares will be planted in order to eliminate the grain imports that have been running in the neighborhood of 200,000 tons annually.)

As usual, Romania has also been reluctant to publish its harvest figures. Radio Bucharest reported on February 8 that grain production reached 9.8 million tons, sugar beets 3.4 million tons and sunflower seeds 522,000 tons. For grain, the figure cited represents a drop of about 20 percent as compared with 1959. Production of grain in earlier years fluctuated as follows (in million tons): 1951 — 7.8, 1955 — 9.9, 1956 — 7.1, 1957 — 11.0, 1958 — 7.3, and 1959 — "over 11." The output figure for sugar beets is also below the 3.7 million tons harvested in 1959. The area planted in corn for fodder purposes, the report said, was more than twice that in 1959, and the 4.1 million tons harvested compare with only 1.7 million tons in the previous year.

Book Notes

The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-1928, by Alexander Erlich (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960, 214 pp., \$6.00). Mr. Erlich, who is Associate Professor of Economics and Staff Member of the Russian Institute, Columbia University, has written a searching essay on the great debate that preceded the final victory of Stalinist industrialization in Russia. Mr. Erlich writes: "The years 1924-1928 witnessed a remarkable debate in the Soviet Union. Its major participants were leading Communist theoreticians and eminent nonparty economists; the keenly interested audience included everyone who was politically and intellectually articulate in Soviet society. The debate ranged far and wide from issues concerning the theory of value to day-to-day political minutiae. At its center, overshadowing all the rest, loomed the problem of the appropriate speed and pattern for the prospective economic development of the country." The first part of the book contains an account of the different points of view and of the changes which some of them underwent in the process of the debate. The second part restates the major issues of the debate in

terms of Western economic analysis. The debate put into focus the crucial dilemma of the Soviet economy of the time by demonstrating that a sharp increase in investment volume was both the key to future growth and the source of the greatest danger to existing economic stability. Bibliography, index.

Journey into the Blue, by Gusztav Rab (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1960, 381 pp., \$4.95). The fate of the Hungarian upper class under the Communist regime is the subject of this interesting novel. It tells the story of Akos Balazs, a prototype of the Hungarian nobleman, who, with a group of fellow "enemies of the State" is deported in 1951 to the *puszta* where he must live in a model "Socialist" community devoted to the raising of pigs. Mr. Rab is a Hungarian writer who was expelled from the Hungarian Authors' Association in 1949 for refusing to follow the intellectual direction of the Communist Party. Unable to continue his literary activity, he went to the Hungarian *puszta*, where he secretly wrote *Journey into the Blue*. He left Hungary in 1957 and is now living in France.

Economic Atlas of the Soviet Union, by George Kish (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960, 96 pp., 65 maps, \$10.00). This is an exceptionally well-designed atlas, containing an important body of information on the geographical structure of the Soviet economy. Five general maps show the Soviet Union's physical features, vegetation zones, population distribution, and air routes. Sixty regional maps present the agricultural, mineral, industrial and communications resources of each of fifteen regions with unusual clarity and detail. The concise descriptions of each region include relevant historical background and shed light on the development of the USSR's economic structure to date. Index.

Germany's Eastern Frontiers, by Zoltan Michael Szaz (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1960, 256 pp., \$7.50). Concerns the vexed question of the Polish-German border. Many Polish references are misspelled. The author was assisted in his researches by groups in Germany which favor a return to the 1937 boundary with Poland, including the *Gottinger Arbeitskreis*. Bibliography, index.

□ These notes are brief descriptions of books that may interest our readers. The editors make no attempt at critical evaluation.

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